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DERRYL N. MACLEAN

RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN ARAB SIND

E.J. Brill

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Preface

ONLY FOUR YEARS AFTER THE DEATH of the Prophet Muḥammad, the Arab Muslims appeared for the first time as a military force in the region of Sind when al-Mughīrah b. Abī al-'Āṣ al-Thaqafī, the brother of the governor of Baḥrayn, conducted a maritime raid on the port of Daybul. Intermittently for the next seventy-five years, the Arabs continued their advance eastwards, raiding and then annexing portions of Mukrān, the arid mountainous western region of greater Sind. Finally, in 93/711, a large Arab Army, under the command of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, only seventeen years old at the time, entered the Indus Valley and by the time of his recall and early death three years later had effected the conquest of the entire province up to and beyond the city of Multān.

Sind was to comprise the eastern limit of the Arab campaigns of conquest. For the following three centuries, Arabs exercised authority in Sind, first as governors appointed directly from the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid courts and then, from the last half of the third/ninth century, as independent rulers from the Quraysh tribes of Habbār b. al-Aswad and Sāmah b. Lu'ayy. The Arab domination of Sind would persist until the annexation of the region by the Ghaznavid Turks in the first quarter of the fifth/eleventh century.

This long period of Arab rule in Sind, extending from 93/711 to 416/1026, forms the basic chronological boundaries of this study. The region of analysis is that termed Sind by Arab historians and geographers of the classical period and not the province of Pakistan known by the same name. This included the entire track of the trans-Indus from the Punjab to the Delta as well as the areas of Mukrān (modern Baluchistan) and Ṭūrān (modern Kelat and Kachhi). That is, Arab Sind was almost equivalent in extent to present-day Pakistan, with the exception of certain areas in the far north and northwest.

Four principal topics have been isolated for discussion and analysis: (1) the identification of the non-Muslim religions and sects at the time of the Arab conquest; (2) the various mechanisms encouraging or impeding collaboration and conversion; (3) the Islamic preoccupations of Sindī Muslims at home and abroad; (4) the rise of an Ismā'īlī state at Multān toward the end of the Arab period. A separate chapter will be devoted to each of these concerns.

The preliminary task of precisely identifying the non-Muslim religions and sects of Sind is required before one can address further issues such as conversion differentials. It has added urgency in view of the usual mislabeling of these non-Muslim religions by modern scholars. Chapter one considers this problem of identification, devoting particular attention to establishing relative numbers and geographical distribution. The conclusions of the chapter are developed in-

itially by differentiating between various terms as they occur in the Muslim data with reference to non-Muslims in the region, and then combining this material with data from the Chinese and Indic sources which specify particular sectarian groups within Sind.

The majority of explanations of conversion in Sind have tended to operate on a simplistic and mutually antagonistic coercive or voluntary model, reflecting current debates in the Indian subcontinent concerning the nature of Islam. This emphasis, it will be suggested, has resulted in the obfuscation of important social processes. Chapter two is concerned, in the main, with establishing the social basis of two observed sets of differentials relating to conquest and conversion. Why did Buddhists and not Hindus tend to collaborate with the Arab conquest? Why did Buddhism die out in Sind during the Arab period, while Hinduism managed to remain relatively intact? The analysis proceeds by isolating the class basis of the designated religious groups, apparent from the literature of the conquest, and then indicating what effect the conquest and settlement and accompanying socio-economic changes would have had, directly or indirectly, on the specified classes.

Chapter three attempts to reconstruct the religious history of Muslims in Arab Sind. Since the post-conquest data relating directly to Islam within Sind are particularly sparse, I have had recourse to Arabic and Persian biographical dictionaries for information on seventy Muslims bearing geographic *nisbahs* (names of attribution) relating to Sind. The prosopographical data have been collated, analyzed, and then confronted with evidence directly bearing on the region of Sind. In general, the biographies are being used solely as an aggregate in order to discern the religious preoccupations of Sindī Muslims and the possible change over time in this preoccupation and in numbers of Sindīs noted in the sources.

The last century of Arab rule in Sind saw the establishment of an Ismā'īlī state in the northern regions of the province. Chapter four will consider this movement, its antecedents, and subsequent development in Sind. Particular attention will be directed toward the problematic question of the impact of Ismā'īlism on the Muslim and non-Muslim environments of Arab Sind, thus linking the analysis with topics discussed in chapters two and three.

In what follows, I intend to provide a comprehensive and detailed account of religion in a particular social and historical context. The primary focus is on religion. My interest in society is constrained to those factors which elucidate certain problems in the religious history of Sind, especially but not exclusively, differentials in collaboration and conversion and the decline in the incidence of Sindī Muslims noted in the biographical material.

This study originated as a Ph.D. dissertation at the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University. I am indebted to the Institute, its staff and students, for providing a congenial environment for the critical study of Indian Islam. In particu-

lar, I would like to thank my dissertation supervisor, Professor Charles J. Adams, for his many constructive suggestions and continued support. Special thanks are also due to my colleague Margarete Tilstra who read the various drafts and offered helpful comments and Professor Bruce Lawrence of Duke University who provided generous editorial assistance and suggested a number of improvements.

For general encouragement, advice, and inspiration, I am appreciative of other faculty members of the Institute, in particular Professors Sajida Alavi, Herman Landolt, and Donald Little, and Professors Sheila McDonough of Concordia University and Annemarie Schimmel of Harvard University. Conversations with my colleagues at McGill—especially Nicholas Hann, Bryan Highbloom, and Khusro Hussaini—helped to clarify many of the questions discussed in these pages.

Many individuals gave freely of their time during my research in India and Pakistan. Chief among them are Husamuddin Rashdi, Ghulam Rabbani, and Shaykh Ayaz in Sind, and P. Malik and Professors Irfan Habib and K. A. Nizami in India. I am also indebted to the research facilities provided by the librarians and libraries of Aligarh Muslim University, the Sindhi Adabi Board, the Institute of Sindhology (University of Sind at Jamshero), and the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University.

My studies at McGill were made possible by the financial assistance, at various times, of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute, the Institute of Ismā'īlī Studies, the Institute of Islamic Studies, and the Steinberg Foundation. A grant from the Institute of Islamic Studies helped defray the costs of copyediting the manuscript. It is with gratitude that I acknowledge this indebtedness.

The transliteration of Arabic, Persian, and Urdu follows the system used by the Library of Congress and described in its *Bulletin*, nos. 91, 92, and 94 (1958). To avoid confusion, the Arabic form of transliteration is used for the shared technical vocabulary (e.g., *dhimmī* not *zimmī*). The Arabic word *ibn* ("son of") is abbreviated (as b.), except when it intiates a personal name (e.g., Ibn Ḥabīb, but Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb). The initial Arabic article (*al-*) has been disregarded for the purpose of alphabetizing in the bibliography. Words which have entered the English language and are readily comprehensible have not been transliterated (thus caliph and not *khalīfah*), except when encapsulated in a quotation in Arabic or Persian.

Place names for Arab Sind have been rendered according to the usual Arabic-Persian consensus, with the exception that the Arabic article (which is inconsistently applied in the sources) generally is deleted. Modern place names are rendered in their accepted English form (e.g., Delhi rather than Dilhī).

Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are given in two parts: the lunar *hijrī* and the solar Christian eras (e.g., 96/714). Since the lunar and solar years do not

correspond directly, I have given the Christian year in which the first month of the *hijrah* year falls. These have been calculated from the charts of G. S. P. Freeman-Grenville, *The Muslim and Christian Calendars* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963). Dates of non-Sindī rulers and dynasties are rendered according to the relevant tables in C. E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1967).

CHAPTER ONE

Non-Muslims in Sind at the Time of the Arab Conquest

Buddhism

IT GENERALLY IS CONCEDED that a large and important portion of the population of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest was Buddhist. This conclusion has been based primarily on a reading of the various forms of the words *budd* and *sumanīyah* which occur in the Muslim sources. Unfortunately, the terms (especially the former) have been interpreted diversely by modern scholars, and it is by no means clear that early Muslim writers used them with the intention of referring to Buddhists or Buddhism. Hence, in the interests of precision, it is necessary first to scrutinize the terms as they occur in the Muslim sources with reference to Sind, before reaching a conclusion regarding the extent and puissance of Buddhism in the region. The Arabic and Persian material then will be integrated with data from the Chinese and Indic sources which, although comparatively less detailed, permit the identification of particular Buddhist schools within Sind.

Budd (pl. bidadah). Henry M. Elliot (1867: 504), who set the tone for subsequent discussions, concluded that since Buddhism was the primary religion of Sind at the time of the Arab conquest "it follows that to Buddha must be attributed the origin of this name [i.e., *budd*], and not to the Persian *but*, 'an idol', which is itself most probably derived from the same source."[1] That the term was used to designate Hindu temples as well only indicates, in his view, "the manifest confusion which prevailed amongst the Arabs regarding the respective objects of Brahman and Buddhist worship" (ibid.: 506). Notwithstanding the alleged Arab misapprehension, most scholars have followed Elliot's lead and identified Buddhists wherever the term *budd* appears in the sources on Sind.[2] Research

1 Reinaud (1845a: 193) argued that the Arabs adopted the term as a result of contact with Buddhism, the predominant religion of the first Indian areas they invaded.

2 See, for instance, Qureshi (1962: 37-44), Chaube (1969: 135), Yusuf (1955: 23-24). Even the normally careful historian Francesco Gabrieli (1965: 285), who accepts the Arab confusion theory ("the oldest Arab sources [on Sind] do not seem to distinguish between the two faiths"), concludes that the primary religion of Sind was Buddhism "as is suggested by the name *budd* which the Arabs gave to every temple or idol in the country." If the Arabs abused the term, how then can it be used to authenticate the religion of Sind as Buddhism?

for areas outside of Sind, however, has suggested that *budd* is an Arabized Persian word (*but*) denoting, in the classical period, an image or a temple, not necessarily Buddhist.[3] The evidence of the Muslim sources on Sind tends to support this view.

In the city of Daybul, where the Thaqafite conquest commenced, the temple is described by Balādhurī as

> . . . a great *budd* on which there was a tall mast surmounted by a red banner unfurling with the wind over the city. The *budd*—which some say is a great tower (*minārah*)— is utilized [as a term for] those structures in which they place one or more images (*aṣnām*) for which it is renowned. Sometimes, the image is placed inside the *minārah* [1866: 437].

Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 345-46) also designates the temple a *budd*, adding that it was forty cubits high and had seven hundred *rātibah* (*sic*, but possibly *rāhibāt*, nuns, is intended) attached to it.[4] The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 104, 108) terms it a *but-khānah* ("temple") and describes its dome and the seven hundred beautiful women (*kanīzak*) serving the image (*dar khidmat-i buddah*). Practically all modern scholars have adduced from the use of the term *budd* and its description that the main temple of Daybul was a Buddhist stūpa.[5]

By itself, the evidence of the description is not compelling: it could apply equally to a Śaivite temple, with the *minārah* perhaps representing the spiral *śikhara*. According to Varāhamihira (sixth century A.D.), the Śaivite temple at Kannaneru had "flags waving from its golden spires" (cited in Shastri 1969: 402-3). Nor is the presence of the term *budd* conclusive. Dimashqī (1923: 45, 170), for instance, writes of the *budd* of Sūmanāt which was destroyed by Maḥmūd Ghaznavī. The reference is to the well-known Śaivite temple, probably Pāśupata, at Somanātha Pattana which was surmounted by a massive dome and *śikhara*.[6] In any case, the Śaivite affiliations of the temple at Daybul are well documented: Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 276) reports at Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo (identified with Daybul) a temple to Maheśvara Deva (an epithet of Śiva) inhabited by Pāśupata Śaivites;[7] the individuals who negotiated with the Arabs at the

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3 The argument is best summarized by Gimaret (1969: 274-78). Also see Bailey (1930-32) and Vaux (1960).

4 Gabrieli (1965: 286) comments on the *rātibah* of Ya'qūbī: "I do not know what the 700 *rātiba* are—if this is the right reading of it—that the victors are said to have found in the Buddhist temple." The meaning is clear, however, from the parallel passage of the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 108).

5 Qureshi (1962: 38), Gabrieli (1965: 285), Gimaret (1969: 275), Smith (1973: 89), Ansari (1965a). Francis Murgotten in his translation of Balādhurī (1968-69 [1916-24] vol. 2: 217-18) has inadvertently misled non-Arabists by rendering *budd al-Daybul* as "Buddhist temple in ad-Daibul."

6 See the essays collected in More (1948). A. K. Majumdar (1956: 332) notes its Pāśupata connections.

7 This depends on identifying 0-tien-p'o-chi-lo with the Indus Delta and Khie-tsi-shi-fa-lo, its capital, with Daybul. The identification follows the reasoned proposals of Lambrick (1964: 148 and map following p. 170).

conquest of Daybul are specifically termed Brahmin in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 104-10); and recent excavations at Banbhore, the probable site of Daybul,[8] have uncovered several votive Śaivite *liṅgas*, one complete with *yoni*, and traces of a Śaivite temple near the main Arab period mosque (*Banbhōr* 1971: 12-13; Abdul Ghafur 1966: 73-74; Ashfaque 1969: 188, 198-99). In consequence, it is necessary to conclude that the *budd* of Daybul was a Śaivite temple and not a Buddhist stūpa.

The term is also utilized by Balādhurī with reference to the temple at Multān:

> The *budd al-Multān* was a *budd* to which offerings were brought and vows pledged. The Sindīs came there on pilgrimage, circumambulated it, shaving their heads and beards before it [1866: 440].

Abū Dulaf (text preserved in Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 3: 457), Ibn Rustah (1892: 136), and Dimashqī (1923: 175) agree in terming the actual image of the Multān temple a *budd*, while the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 239-40) more specifically designates the temple *but-khānah* and *but-kadah* (both meaning "image-house" or "temple") and the actual image *but*. Apparently basing his conclusion on the use of these terms, Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi (1962: 43) has argued that the temple of Multān was actually Buddhist at the time of the Arab conquest. There can be no doubt, however, that this celebrated religious structure was a Hindu temple dedicated to the sun, both before and after the Arab conquest. The temple and its worshippers will be described in a further section of this chapter. For the present purposes, it is apparent that the term *budd* was used with reference to Multān does not indicate a Buddhist structure or image.

The term also is employed in a general sense for the images and temples of Sind. Thus Balādhurī (1866: 437) explains, "everything which they exalt through worship (*'ibādah*) is termed *budd* as is the image itself," and likens (ibid.: 439) the *budd* of Sind—he does not use the Arabic plural *bidadah*—to the churches of the Christians, the synagogues of the Jews, and the fire-temples of the Zoroastrians. In this passage, the term is being used generically for the temples and images of all non-Muslims of Sind, not just Buddhists.[9] This usage is consistent with the practices of Arab writers of the classical period. Ibn al-Nadīm (1964 [1871] vol. 1: 347), for example, employs *budd* as a generic term referring to images,[10] while Jāḥiẓ (cited in Gimaret 1969: 274) considers the term synonymous with *ṣanam*, *wathan*, and *dumyah*, all meaning image.

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[8] The rationale for the identification is summarized by Abdul Ghafur (1966: 65-76). Bazmee Ansari (1965a: 189) argues that Daybul must be looked for elsewhere since "Iṣṭakhrī makes separate mention of the town of Daybul and the idol temple of Bahamburā (Bhambûr)." Iṣṭakhrī, however, mentions no such town in his section on Sind (1870: 170-80). Perhaps Ansari is thinking of Ibn Ḥawqal's Bāmīrāmān (1938 vol. 2: 219), which is clearly a variation of Brahmanâbâd.

[9] Murgotten has translated the *budd* of this passage as "the Buddhist temples" (compare Balâdhurī 1866: 439 with 1968-69 [1916-24] vol. 2: 271).

[10] Bayard Dodge (Ibn al-Nadīm 1970 vol. 2: 831) translates *budd* as Buddha, even though Ibn al-Nadīm's examples of great *bidadah* include the image of Multān which was definitely Hindu.

The Muslim literature occasionally refers to the historical Buddha as *budd* or *buddah*.[11] In the *Chachnāmah* (1939), variations of the term occur as a personal name for three individuals: Buddah, the governor of Armābīl (p. 48); Budīhī, the headman of Sāwandī (p. 219); and Buddah-Rakkū, the chief monk of a monastery near Brahmanābād (pp. 42-46). The *Chachnāmah*'s gloss (*maḥfūẓ al-ṣanam*) on the name of Buddah-Rakkū suggests the restoration to a Sindī form of the Pali Buddha-Rakkhita (Skt., Buddha-Rakṣita), "protected by Buddha," and the equivalence of the terms *buddah* and *ṣanam*. It is apparent that all three of these individuals were Buddhists, however, since the text clearly provides the supplementary designation *samanī* which, as we shall see, was the usual Muslim term for specific Buddhists.

To be sure, the *Chachnāmah* does employ the term *buddah* with apparent reference to Buddhist structures or images. The religious structure of the *samanīs* at Nīrūn is termed *but-kadah-yi buddah* (ibid.: 118), which might be rendered Buddhist image-house. The previously mentioned *samanī*, Buddah-Rakkū, is said to be in the service of *buddah* as the abbot of the *buddah-yi nava-vihār* where he was constantly engaged in the construction of images (*aṣnām*) in the form of *buddah* (ibid.: 42-47). It is perhaps legitimate here to translate *buddah* as Buddha rather than image or temple, especially since the Buddhist context is provided by the terms *samanī* and *vihār*. However, the *naw-bahār* (*sic*, both it and *nava-vihār* are used) of Arōr is termed both *butkhānah-yi naw-bahār* and *buddah-yi naw-bahār* (ibid.: 226), raising the suspicion that *buddah* is being used synonymously with *but-khānah*, and that the reference is to a structure or niche containing images and belonging to the monastery. The point is that it is difficult to be sure of the Buddhist context of *budd* or *buddah* without the presence of some other more specific term.

The issue is further complicated by the use of the term to designate a tribe and region. The classical Muslim geographers frequently refer to a group of non-Muslims in Sind called *budhah* who resided in a region of the same name on the west bank of the Indus (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 176; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 323; *Ḥudūd* 1970: 123; Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 4: 772-73). In the account of the conquest given in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 121-24), this group is known as *buddah*; they resided in the region of Budhīyah (also given as Būdhīyah). Dā'ūdpōtah, the editor of the *Chachnāmah*, has identified them as Buddhist (*tābi'īn-i buddah*) (ibid.: 281), while Elliot has derived their name "from the possession of the Buddhist religion in its purity by the inhabitants of that remote trace" (1867: 389). It seems more legitimate, however, to identify this descent group with the ancient Bodha, a caste of the Punjab and Sind who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and other early Indic sources (Mirchandani 1966;

11 See, for example, Bīrūnī (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 121, 158), Shahrastānī (1961 vol. 2: 252–53), and Marwazī (1942: 46, 141-42). For specific discussion of the Muslim names for the historical Buddha see Lawrence (1976: 105-6).

Sircar 1971a: 31-32; Muzafer Ali 1973: 137-38). This is not to imply that members of the Bodha were not Buddhist—some of them clearly were[12]—but only that it is hazardous to identify them as Buddhist, pristine or otherwise, solely on the basis of their name.

In sum, the term *budd* and its variations could, but do not necessarily, refer to Buddhists and their religious structures or objects of worship. Consequently, the term will be understood here as a generic designation for religious structures or images unless there is additional information permitting another reading (as there is in some cases).

Sumanīyah and other terms. The Muslim sources on Sind, especially the *Chachnāmah*, refer repeatedly to a group known as the *sumanīyah* (Persian: *samanī*, pl. *samanīyān*). Here there are none of the difficulties previously encountered in the use of the term *budd*. There is a general consensus among Islamicists that classical Muslim writers utilized *sumanīyah* as a designation both for Buddhism as a religion and, perhaps more commonly, for groups of Buddhists.[13] The term was often used in opposition to *barāhimah* (Brahmanism or Brahmins) in Muslim discussions of the religions of India.[14]

Nor is there any difficulty with its etymology. The word is derived from the Pali *samana* (Skt., *śramaṇa*, "striver"), a form actually occurring in a fragmentary inscription found at the Buddhist monastery at Mohenjo-daro in Sind (Marshall 1931 vol. 1: 116). Indic sources normally used the term to designate a Buddhist monk or mendicant, with the opposition *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa* taking on the general sense of Buddhist-Hindu.[15] The Greeks employed both terms in the same connection,[16] and perhaps the Muslim writers adopted the usage from them and not directly from the Indic material. Whatever the source, it is reasonably clear that when Muslim writers refer to the *sumanīyah* in Sind, they are intending to refer to Buddhists (although of course they may be mistaken).[17]

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12 Their chief, Kākah b. Kōtak, is designated a *samanī* and a *bhikkū* (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 120, 123), while his father Kōtak is also called a *bhikkū* (ibid.: 39).

13 An excellent treatment of the *sumanīyah* can be found in Gimaret (1969: 288-306). Further discussion can be found in Calverly (1964), Nadvī (1929: 216-23), and Lawrence (1976: 106-7).

14 Muṭahhar (1899-1919 vol. 1: 144, 197), for example, divides the Indian religions into two major sects (*niḥlatāni*): the *barāhimah* and the *sumanīyah*. Also see Bīrūnī (1964 [1910]: vol. 1: 21 and notes vol. 2: 261).

15 According to S. Dutt (1962: 40), the grammarian Patañjali utilized *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa* as an example of compound formation of names of things "at perpetual enmity." For the usage of these terms in Indic sources consult S. Dutt (1962: 48-49), Warder (1980: 33-42), and Joshi (1967: 416). While the major reference is to Buddhism, the term also is applied to other non-Brahmanical systems such as Jainism. Since Hiuen Tsiang does not note any Jains within Sind, it is legitimate to read Buddhist when the term is used relative to Sind.

16 A compilation of the classical Greek material on the *śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa* can be found in R.C. Majumdar (1960 ch. 13: "Accounts of Brahmanas and Sramanas").

17 The concern here is solely to differentiate Buddhists from Hindus in Sind. For the use of the term in later Muslim polemics consult Gimaret (1969: 292-306).

The *Chachnāmah* also uses two other specifically Buddhist technical terms transliterated into Persian: *bhikkū* and *nava-vihār*. In the first case, two individuals from the tribe of Buddah are termed *bhikkū* (1939: 39, 120-23), while the *samanī* abbot, Buddah-Rakkū, is said to be renowned for his asceticism (*nāsikī*) and monkishness (*bhikkī*) (p. 42). The term is undoubtedly a Persian rendition of the Pali *bhikkhu* (Skt., *bhikṣu*), a Buddhist monk. In the second case, the Buddhist "new monastery" (Skt., *nava-vihāra*) is noted in its usual Muslim form, *naw-bahār*, and in a literal transcription as *nava-vihār* (ibid.: 42-46, 226).[18] Both these terms definitely refer to Buddhists or their structures and, moreover, are used in conjunction with the more normal *samanī*.

The Muslim accounts of the Arab conquest suggest that the Buddhists were particularly well-represented and influential in the Indus Delta region. The central Delta city of Nīrūn (modern Hyderabad), with a succession of Buddhist governors representing a prominent Buddhist population, would appear to have occupied a position of considerable influence in the region (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 93, 116-18, 131, 155; Balādhurī 1866: 437-38). The extensive region of Bēt (comprising the eastern portion of the Delta as far as Cutch) was governed by the two Lōhānah brothers. Mōkah and Rāsil b. Basāyah, who were probably Buddhist like their grandfather Akham, the anti-Brahmin loyalist for the Buddhist Sīharsī dynasty.[19] Balādhurī refers to a group of Buddhists living between Nīrūn and Sadūsān (i.e., Sīwistān),[20] while the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 118-21, 145-46) notes significant numbers in the adjacent towns of Mawj and Sīwistān.

North of Sīwistān, on the west bank of the Indus, the Kākah family of Buddhist monks (*bhikkūs*)—whose ancestor is said to have come from Avadand-vihār on the banks of the Ganges—combined hereditary religious and secular authority in the region of Budhīyah.[21] Similarly, the hereditary governorship of the district and port of Armābīl (variation, Armā'il), west of the Indus in eastern Mukrān, was in the hands of a Buddhist family (ibid.: 48).

Buddhists were also found east of the Indus from Nīrūn to Arōr (Arabic, al-Rūr). The latter town, possibly the Roruka of the Buddhist sources (Law 1973:

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18 For a discussion of the term in an Iranian context see Bulliet (1976) and Melikian-Chirvani (1974).

19 Mōkah was the son of Basāyah Sarband (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 156-57, 165) who was, in turn, the [illegible] of Akham Lōhānah (ibid.: 42-44) who definitely was a Buddhist. While the Sīharsī kings (who ruled Sind before the usurpation of the Brahmin Chach) are not explicitly designated Buddhist (*samanī*) in the *Chachnāmah*, it is surely a Sīharsī (perhaps Sāhasi b. Sīharas) who was the unnamed Buddhist king of Sind at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's sojourn in the middle of the seventh century A.D.

20 See Balādhurī (1866: 438) where the reference is to *sumanīyah sarbīdas*. It is unclear whether Sarbīdas is the name of a place or a person.

21 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 39, 120-23. Perhaps Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 273-74) is referring to the Kākah family of secularized Buddhist monks when he notes a group of Sammitīya in Sind who "shave their heads and wear the *Kashāya* [reddish-yellow] robes of Bhikshus, whom they resemble outwardly, whilst they engage themselves in the ordinary affairs of lay life."

56-58; Dey 1971 [1927]: 170; but cf. Eggermont 1975: 157-59), possessed a Buddhist monastery (*naw-bahār*), and the townspeople who are said to have "renounced allegiance to the *barāhimah*" and assembled in the monastery to meet the Arabs were surely Buddhists (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 224-26). There was a large community of Buddhists as well as a monastery (*nava-vihār*) at Sāwandī (the Sāwandarī of Balādhurī 1866: 439), a suburb of Brahmanābād (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 42-47, 218-19). The abbot of this monastery, Buddah-Rakkū, was the spiritual guide (*quṭb*) of the Sīharsī governor of Brahmanābād, and the people of the region were his followers.

Although the Muslim sources clearly indicate the presence of significant numbers of Buddhists in Lower Sind (i.e., from the Delta to the city of Arōr), not a single Buddhist is mentioned for the region north of Arōr. The geographic distribution of Buddhists suggested by the Muslim material is confirmed by the extant archaeological remains. The known Buddhist sites form a dense cluster in the central Indus Delta,[22] another cluster on the west bank of the Indus (the region termed Budhīyah at the time of Arab conquest),[23] and an elongated belt extending along the east bank of the Indus from Mirpur Khas in the south-east to Sirar, just south of Arōr.[24] There are also a number of reportedly Buddhist cave sites in the vicinity of Sehwan (Sīwistān) and Mukrān.[25] It is legitimate to conclude, therefore, that very few Buddhists resided in Upper Sind.

Sammitīya. The Muslim sources are not of much utility for establishing the particular sectarian systems of Sindī Buddhism. Fortunately, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang travelled through Sind shortly before the Arab conquest and enumerated the sectarian affiliations of Sindī Buddhists. According to his account, there were 460 Buddhist monasteries with 26,000 monks in greater Sind (1884 vol. 2: 272-82). Of these, 10 monasteries (with no monks) in

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22 The two stūpas at Budh-jo Thakar and the stūpa and monastic complex at Kafir-Kot, both near Jherruck (Cousens 1925: 107-9; *Gazetteer* 1907-26 ■ vol. 1: 54-55; Frere 1854; Cunningham 1975 [1871]: 242); the stūpas and monasteries at Kuttehar and Sudheranjo-daro, both near Saidpur (Cousens 1925: 100-106; D. R. Bhandarkar 1914-15; "Remains" 1857; N. G. Majumdar 1934: 22); and the possible monastery at Tharro (N. G. Majumdar 1934: 21).

23 The stūpa and monastic complex at Dhamraojo-daro, ▬ Badah (Cousens 1925: 177; N. G. Majumdar 1934: 48); the well-known stūpa and two-story monastery ■ Mohenjo-daro, near Dokri (Marshall 1931 vol. 1: 113-30); and a possible stūpa at Jhukar, near Larkana (N. G. Majumdar 1934: 5-18).

24 The stūpas and extensive monastic complex at Kahujo-daro, near Mirpur Khas (Cousens 1925: 82-97; Mitra 1971: 132-33; Woodburn 1895-97; Chandra 1959-62; *Gazetteer* 1907-26 B vol. 6: 37-43); the well-preserved stūpa at Thul Mir Rukan, near Daulatpur (Cousens 1925: 98-99; N. G. Majumdar 1934: 34; *Gazetter* B. vol. 5: 28); the stūpa at Depar Ghangro, in the old Brahmanābād-Manṣūrah—Maḥfūẓah urban complex (Cousens 1925: 59; *Gazetteer* B. vol. 5: 24); the recently discovered stūpa at Mari Sabar ("Mari" 1964); and the three stūpas and extensive monastic complex at Sirar, near Kot Diji (Sahni 1929-30).

25 Sehwan (Wilson 1850: 76-77); Tīz in western Mukrān (Miles 1873: 165-66); and the Godrani caves near Las Bela in eastern Mukrān (Holdich 1896: 399). But note the reservations of Fairservis (1975: appendix 6) concerning the Buddhist nature of the Godrani caves.

Multān were in ruins, while 100 monasteries with 6,000 monks in Mukrān were inhabited jointly by Mahāyānists and Hīnayānists. The remaining 350 monasteries, 33 stūpas, and 20,000 monks all belonged to the Hīnayāna school known as the Sammitīya.[26] Sind, with almost half of all Indian Sammitīya monks and monasteries, was the major centre of this school in the Indian subcontinent.[27]

Not only did the vast majority of Sindī Buddhist monks belong to the Sammitīya just before the Arab conquest, but there is evidence to conclude that this school still prevailed among those who did not convert after the conquest. Two inscriptions (dated Śaka 789 [A. D. 857] and Śaka 806 [A. D. 884]) record the granting of villages at Kāmpilya (near Surat in Gujarat) for the maintenance of Buddhist monks from the district of Sind (*sindhu-viṣāyaśri bhikṣu-saṅgha*) who belonged to the Āryasaṅgha (Altekar 1933-34; D. R. Bhandarkar 1900-1901). As Hasmukh Sankalia (1941: 233) has observed, the Ārya-saṅgha of the inscriptions surely refers to the Ārya Sammitīya Nikāya. In consequence, any judgements made about Buddhist in the Sind at the time of the Arab conquest and settlement must be made on the basis of the Sammitīya being the predominant Buddhist school in the region.

The traditional enumeration of Buddhist schools lists the Sammitīya as one of the four subdivisions of the Vatsīputrīya which was itself a branch of the Sthavira (Bareau 1955: 15-30). The Sammitīya, the most important of these Vatsīputrīya schools, was often termed Puggalavādin ("Personalist") after its most characteristic tenet: the belief in the actual existence of a "person" (Pali, *puggala*, Skt., *pudgala*).[28] The generally accepted Buddhist theory, as it evolved, is that there is "not" (*an*) an absolute or permanent "self" (*attā*) except as a *kammic* illusion (*māyā*). Rather, the individual is perceived as a collection of five aggregates (Pali, *khandha*, Skt., *skandha*) which are impermanent and causally produced. The perception of personhood is caused, in theory, by the flux of these

26 Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 272-80. That is, Sin-tu (Eastern Sind) with 10,000 monks, 200 monasteries, 20 stūpas; O-tien-p'o-chi-lo (Indus Delta) with 5,000 monks, 80 monasteries, stūpas; Pi-to-shi-lo (Siwistān region) with 3,000 monks, 50 monasteries, 2 stūpas; and O-fan-ch'a (Budhiyah region) with 2,000 monks, 20 monasteries, 5 stūpas. I have followed the identification of these place names proposed by Lambrick (1964: 146-51), which seems the most promising. Mirchandani (1964-65, 1967, 1969) has argued another, although improbable (it rests on the assumption that Sin-tu was in the Punjab not Sind), itinerary.

27 In his account of India, Hiuen Tsiang notes some 750 monasteries and 44,000 monks affiliated to the Sammitīya. Hence, not only was Sind the major Indian centre of this school (350 monasteries and 20,000 monks), but the Sammitīya (and not the Mahāyāna as is often thought) was the largest single Buddhist school in greater India at the time (compare 32,900 Mahāyāna, 16,800 Sthavira, and 1,900 Sarvāstivāda).

28 The following discussion of the tenets of the Personalists is based primarily on Vasubandhu (1971 vol. 5: 227-301) and the *Kathāvatthu* (1915: 8-98), both refutations of the Personalist position. The bias of the primary polemical sources is often shared by modern scholars. Conze (1967: 121-31), although brief, offers the most equitable discussion. Also see Bareau (1955: 121-26), Lamotte (1958: 571-606), and N. Dutt (1970: 194-226).

aggregates. This "truth" of *anattā*, the last of the "three marks of all conditioned beings," is of cardinal importance to Buddhism.[29]

The doctrine held three fundamental difficulties for the Sammitīya: textual, intellectual, and moral. In the first case, they argued, the Buddha himself had used repeatedly the term *puggala* in a context where it is definitely distinguished from the five aggregates.[30] Their opponents accepted the texts in question but argued that the Buddha had employed the term solely as a concept (*paññati*, Skt., *prajñapti*), a conventional designation for something that does not exist (Vasubandhu 1971 vol. 5: 237-40; N. Dutt 1970: 200). The Sammitīya obdurately insisted that the Buddha had used the term and any amount of rationalizing could not vitiate it. Moreover, the Sammitīya argued, the Buddha had referred to his previous births in such a way as to indicate personal reality.[31]

The logical dilemma was ably posed by the renowned Gandharan king Milinda, a native of Lower Sind:[32]

> If there is no such thing as a soul, what is it then which sees forms with the eye, and hears sounds with the ear, and smells odours with the nose . . . or perceives qualities with the mind [1963 (1890-94) vol. 1: 133; Cf. Vasubandhu 1971 vol. 5: 271; *Kathāvatthu* 1915: 26].

What is it that perceives in the absence of a person or a self? What is it that transmigrates or enters *nirvāṇa* if the person does not endure? Moreover, to insist upon the illusory nature of the self is to operate from a posited real self which is somehow able to differentiate between reality and unreality and affirm the non-existence of the self. This obviously could not be true on its own authority which it repudiates.

The ethical problem resides in the validation of a responsibility for moral action in the absence of a person or soul. As Milinda pointed out:

> If, most reverend Nāgasena, there is no permanent individuality (no soul) . . . . Who is it who lives a life of righteousness? . . . Who is it who lives an evil life of wordly lusts, who speaks lies [ibid.: 41; Cf. *Kathāvatthu* 1915: 43-50]?

The Sammitīya sought to reconcile these difficulties by accepting the actual existence of the *puggala* referred to by the Buddha. It is this "person" which would be the subject of the individual's actions and responsible for them. Since, in their

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29 Two excellent studies of the early Buddhist doctrine of *anattā* have been published recently (Pérez-Romón 1980; Collins 1982).

30 Vasubandhu 1971 vol. 5: 258-59 et passim. See, for example, *Dīgha Nikāya* (1899-1921 vol. 3: 223) and *Aṇguttara-Nikāya* (1932-36 vol. 1: 14-15).

31 In the *Majjhima Nikāya* (1954-59 vol. 1: 94-95), for example, the Buddha tells Sārigupta that a Tathāgata remembers his former births thinking "such and such was I by name, having such a clan, such a colour, so was I nourished, I experienced this and that pleasure and pain, so did the span of life end. As that one I, passing from this, rose up again elsewhere."

32 Milinda was born at Kalasīgrāma in Alasanda-dvīpa. See Sircar (1971a: 233-34) for its identification with the Indus Delta.

formulation, the "person" was different from the "self" (*attā*), they avoided the heretical act of contradicting the doctrine of *anattā*.[33]

The importance of this pivotal Sammitīya tenet is that, in sharp contrast to the sophistry of the normative Buddhist theories of the time, it is eminently comprehensible. As Conze has observed of the Sammitīya position:

> All these arguments have the advantage of being easily understood. The Personalists seem to just reiterate the commonplace conceptions to which the ordinary worldling has become habituated . . . . Aversion to speculative flights and an endeavour to safeguard the data of common sense are the powerful motives behind this kind of argumentation [1967: 127-28].

That is, the overwhelming popularity of a Personalist perspective, as evidenced by the Sammitīya, would tend to support a kind of Buddhist populism and textualism in Sind.

Other schools. While the Sammitīya was the major school of Sindī Buddhism in terms of numbers and influence, there were small communities of Buddhist monks in the region who belonged to other schools. Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 277) mentions adherents of the Hīnayāna intermingled with the Mahāyāna in Eastern Mukrān, although he does not specify their precise sectarian affiliation. He does note, however, several Sarvāstivādin (All-is-ist) monasteries in areas contiguous to Sind, including Iran (ibid.: 173-75, 269-70, 278). According to another Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing (1966 [1896]:9), a few members of this school coexisted in Sind with the Sammitīya. It is possible that the Sammitīya of Sind had been Sarvāstivādin previously, since Upagupta (ca. third century B.C.) "sojourned here [Sin-tu] whilst engaged in the conversion of men,"[34] and Kātyāyana (ca. first century B.C.) is said to have built a monastery in the region of Sīwistān.[35] Moreover, fifth century A.D. inscriptions found at the stūpa of Tor-Dherai (Baluchistan) record the dedication of a watering place for the Sarvāstivādins (Konow 1929: 93-97). If this is the case, then Sindī Buddhist monks had changed their sectarian affiliation by the seventh century A.D.

Finally, there is the problematic question of the position of the Mahāyāna in Sind. I. H. Qureshi has argued that "when Hiuen Tsang visited the subcontinent in the middle of the seventh century, he still found Mahāyāna Buddhism the prevailing religion in Western areas" (1962: 37). He further suggests that the presence of this school in Sind indicates that Buddhism was losing out to Hinduism in the region because the "Mahāyāna had gone so far in making compromises with Brahminism that it had lost its stamina" (ibid.). Thus, he concludes, they welcomed the Arab conquest. While his analysis may or may not be ac-

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33 The Personalists went to considerable lengths to avoid the identification of their *puggala* with the *attā* (Vasubandhu 1971 vol. 5: 227-31; *Kathāvatthu* 1915: 1915: 3-32 passim).

34 Hwui Li 1973 (1911): 152 (Cf. Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 273). Upagupta was claimed by the Sarvāstivādins as the leader of their school (Warder 1980: 273).

35 Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 280. Kātyāyana was the author of the main *Abhidhamma* text of the Sarvāstivādins (Warder 1980: 342-43).

ceptable, it certainly cannot be based on the account of Hiuen Tsiang who explicitly specifies the Sammitīya Hīnayāna ■■ the dominant Buddhist school in both Western India and Sind. Indeed, at the time of his visit to Sind, Mahāyānists were represented only in isolated Eastern Mukrān where they shared facilities with the Hīnayānists.[36] Compared to the Sammitīya, they were insignificant.

A number of scholars have concluded that Buddhism in Sind must have been Mahāyāna due to the amount of image sculpture found on Buddhist stūpas in the region (Cousens 1925: 106; D. R. Bhandarkar 1914-15: 94; Lambrick 1973: 132). There is no disputing the presence of images in quantity on the Buddhist sites so far uncovered in Sind or the Sindī appreciation for such images.[37] The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 44-45) even gives a detailed description of the abbot of ■ Buddhist monastery making clay votive images (*aṣnām*) in the form of ■ Buddha (*ṣūrat-i buddah*). However, images were not an isolated Mahāyāna phenomenon. Whatever may be the case with the Hīnayāna in general,[38] it is clear that the Sammitīya utilized images in their structures in the seventh century A.D. Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 1: 202, 230; vol. 2: 44-45) refers to several Indian Sammitīya monasteries which contained images of the Buddha, including one with over ■ hundred rows of niches, each with ■ gold statue. Image worship (*buddha-pūjā*) also was comonplace among the Sammitīya of Valabhī, ■ region adjacent to Sind (S. Dutt 1962: 228-29; Sankalia 1941: 232). Hiuen Tsiang himself refers to ■ Sammitīya monastery in Sind which possessed ■ blue stone image of the Buddha reputed to emit ■ "divine light" (1884 vol. 2: 280-81). Clearly, the presence of images in no way detracts from the Sammitīya affiliation of Sindī Buddhists.

There is equivocal evidence for the presence in Sind of Tantric Buddhism, ■ later form of the Mahāyāna. The *Hevajra Tantra* (ca. eighth century A.D.) lists Sindhu ■■ one of the centres of the Mantrayāna, ■■ alternate name for Tantra (1959 vol. 1: 70). While some recent scholars have been inclined to interpret the passage literally (Joshi 1967: 335; Warder 1980: 499), the early commentators on the text take the geographic locations to be symbolic: "Internally these places exist in the body in the form of veins and there is no need to look elsewhere for them" (Vajragarbha, cited in *Hevajra* 1959 vol. 1: 69-70).

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36 Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 277. There were Mahāyāna monasteries north of Sind—Varana, Udiyana, and Taxila—but they were all in ruins at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit (ibid. vol. 1: 119, 136-43, vol. 2: 281-82).

37 Buddhist images have been noted at Sirar (Sahni 1929-30: 161-63), Mirpur Khas (Cousens 1925: 82-97, figs. 10-14, plates 25-27; Woodburn 1895-97; Chandra 1959-62), Kafir-Kot (Cousens 1925: 107-9; Frere 1854), Thul Mir Rakan (Cousens 1925: 98-99 and fig. 15), Sudheranjo-daro (Cousens 1925: 100-106; D. R. Bhandarkar 1914-15; "Remains" 1857: 688), Tharro (N. G. Majumdar 1934: 21), and Mohenjo-daro (Marshall 1931 vol. 1: 115, 117).

38 S. Dutt (1962: 188-94) indicates that the worship of the image of Buddha was common among the Theravādins from the third century A.D. They frequently combined the worship of the symbol (the stūpa) with the image by recessing the image into a niche on the stūpa base. The images found on the stūpa at Mirpur Khas in Sind were situated in this fashion (Cousens 1925: plates 20-21).

In any case, there is good reason to doubt the general acceptance of Tantric Buddhism in Sind or by Sindī Buddhists. During the reign of the Pāla king Dharmapāla (ca. 770-810 A.D.), a group of Buddhist monks from Sind (*saindhava śrāvakas*) travelled to the temple of Vajrāsana at Bodh Gaya, burnt what Tantric scriptures they found there, and destroyed the temple's silver image of Hevajra.[39] By way of defense, the Sindī Buddhists told the people:

> That which is called Mahāyāna is only a source of livelihood for those who follow the wrong view. Therefore, keep clear of those so-called preachers of the True Doctrine [Tāranātha 1970: 279].

The incident reveals a militant antagonism among Sindī Buddhists against the Mahāyāna in general and the Tantrayāna in particular. Such a perception would be in keeping with their Sammitīya affiliation. Hiuen Tsiang observed that the Sammitīya of Sind "have narrow views and attack the Mahāyāna" (*She-Kia-Feng-Che* 1959: 120; Cf. Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 273). It is apparent, therefore, that the Mahāyāna was neither as widespread nor as influential in Sind as is commonly thought.

Hinduism

Barāhimah. As previously noted, the Arabic compound *barāhimah sumanīyah* was employed by classical Muslim writers to signify the Indic distinction *brāhmaṇa-śramaṇa*: the former representing Brahmanism, the latter all other non-Brahmanical Indian religious systems, but especially Buddhism. Variations of the term "Hindu" occur in the early Muslim sources only as a geographic, linguistic, or ethnic designation.[40] Nevertheless, the terms Hindū and Hinduism (rather than Brahman and Brahmanism) are being employed here in their usual religious sense for the sake of convenience and to avoid confusion with members of the Brahmin caste.

H. M. Elliot has argued that at the time of the Arab conquest Sind was predominantly Buddhist, basing his views not only on the use of the terms *budd* and *samanī* in the *Chachnāmah*, but on

> . . . the negative evidence afforded by the absence of any mention of priestcraft, or other pontifical assumption, of widow-burning, of sacerdotal threads, of burnt-sacrifices, of cow-worship, of ablutions, of penances, or of other observances and ceremonies peculiar to the tenets of the Brahmanical faith [1867: 506].

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39 The incident is reported in two different works of the medieval Tibetan historian Tāranātha (1914: 93; 1970: 279). Lama Chimpa, the translator of Tāranātha (1970: 279), suggests that the word Saindhava is probably a corruption of *siddha*, but this is unlikely. Since they are mentioned along with Sinhalese monks, surely a geographic or ethnic designation is intended. For the role of the Sinhalese in this incident see Gunawardana (1979: 242-48).

40 See, for example, *Chachnāmah* (1939: 213) where *hinduvān* refers to Indians in general and (ibid.: 223) where *hindavī* is used for the Indian language.

It is very difficult, however, to sustain the argument of ■ solely Buddhist Sind. The *Chachnāmah* frequently employs the term *brahman* (with both plurals—the Arabic *barāhimah* and the Persian *brahmanān*) in its account of Sind. As ■ native of Brahmanābād informed Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī at the time of the Arab conquest:

> The prosperity of this country is due to the Brahmins (*barāhimah*). They are our scholars (*'ulamā'*) and sages (*ḥukamā'*). All our important rituals—from marriage to mourning—are performed through their mediation [1939: 213; Cf. p. 55].

Members of this group are noted in the *Chachnāmah* in the cities of Daybul (pp. 104-10), Brahmanābād (pp. 207-15),. Arōr (pp. 17, 224, 227), Multān (pp. 239-40), and elsewhere with reference to Sīlā'ij administrators and army commanders.[41]

Moreover, Elliot notwithstanding, the *Chachnāmah* does refer to Brahmin priestcraft,[42] widow-burning,[43] the veneration of the cow,[44] Brahmanical rituals such as cremation,[45] and caste related concerns for purity and pollution.[46] Elliot's contention (1867: 505) that Chach "though a Brahman by birth, still continued ■ Buddhist in his persuasion" and that his brother Chandar "was actually ■ Buddhist ascetic" is simply unwarranted. Chach was not only ■ member of the Brahmin caste (*jamā'ah-yi brahman*), but ■ Brahmin who specialized in the recitation of the Vedas: "I have memorized all four books of India (*kutub-i Hind*): *Rg, Jaj, Asām*, and *Atharīn*" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 18, 22). The reference is clearly to the four Vedas—*Ṛg, Yajur, Sāma*, and *Atharva*—which together form the original basis of Hindu scripture.[47] The view that Chandar was ■ Buddhist ascetic—an observation echoed in much of the secondary literature (e.g., Qureshi 1962: 42; Habib 1929: 86; Mitra 1954: 31) and intending to indicate the plasticity of religious adherence in Sind—is based on a passage of the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 50) which calls him a monk (*rāhib*) and ascetic (*nāsik*). Not all monks and ascetics were Buddhist. Indeed, it is clear from an earlier

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41 Since Chach and his descendants are specified as Brahmins in numerous places (ibid.: 18, 22, 28, 58, 230 et passim), it is assumed that all the Sīlā'ij governors who were his relatives were of the same caste.

42 Brahmins performed astrological duties for the state (ibid.: 55; Cf. 104), marital and funerary rites (ibid.: 213), and temple functions (ibid.: 17, 22).

43 Dāhir's wife Bā'ī (also given as Mā'in) instigated ■ mass immolation of the widows of Rāwar after its conquest by the Arabs (ibid.: 194-95; Balādhurī 1866: 439).

44 Since Arabs are expressly despised as cow-eaters (*gāw-khwārān*) in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 195, 222).

45 Ibid.: 68 notes Dāhir gathering sandalwood and cremating his brother Daharsîyah.

46 Ibid.: 20-27, 54-68, 228-34. Indeed, the prominence given to these legendary incidents of Sīlā'ij pollution suggests a Hindu rationalization of the fall of Sind as due to the impure state of the ruling Brahmin dynasty.

47 According to Varāhamihara (Shastri 1969: 195), Brahmins were distinguished according to which Veda they belonged. One (like Chach) well-versed in all four Vedas was termed *cāturvidya*.

speech of Chach that he, his brother Chandar, and his father Sīlā'ij were all Brahmin priests from a temple near Arōr:

> The Brahmin said: "My name is Chach b. Sīlā'ij, the monk (*rāhib*). My brother Chandar and my father as well reside in the fire-temple (*kunisht-i ta'abbud-gāh*) of the cultivated fields of the city of Arōr" [ibid.: 17; Cf. p. 30].

As a result, it is possible to conclude that Buddhism, while important in Sind, was not the only or even the predominant religion. Hindus were definitely in the vast majority in Upper Sind (where, as noted, there were few if any Buddhists), but probably at least equal in numbers to the Buddhists in Lower Sind and Mukrān.[48]

Pāśupata Śaivism. Like Buddhism, Hinduism in Sind had a particular sectarian configuration at the time of the visit of Hiuen Tsiang. While less forthcoming on Hinduism than Buddhism, this Chinese Buddhist pilgrim does enumerate 273 Hindu temples within the confines of greater Sind. Of these, one was the famous sun-temple of Multān, 37 were inter-sectarian, and the remaining 235 belonged to the Pāśupata Śaivities.[49]

Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 277) found a concentration of Pāśupata temples in Long-kie-lo (Eastern Mukrān) where the capital possessed a lavishly ornamented temple of Maheśvara Śiva inhabited by Pāśupatas. There is additional evidence of Śaivites, if not necessarily Pāśupatas, in this region. Hiṅglāj, about eighty miles west of the Indus Delta, is celebrated as one of the fifty-one *pīṭhas* (places of pilgrimage) where the severed limbs of Śiva's consort fell when she expired. The westernmost of Hindu pilgrimage sites, there is a Śaivite temple here de-

48 Since Hiuen Tsiang has given the estimated circumference (in *li*) of the capital cities of each province he visited, as well as the number of Buddhist (but not Hindu) monks, it should be possible to make a tentative estimation of both total and Buddhist populations of Sind following the procedures outlined for the Chinese data on India by Russell (1969). Using this imperfect data, one can estimate the population of the capital city (assuming a density of 60 to 100 to the hectare), the total population of each province (assuming the city had 1.5 percent of the provincial population), and the Buddhist population (assuming the monks formed 1 percent of the total Buddhist population). If this procedure is veridical, then the Buddhist comprised from 25 to 41 percent of the entire population of greater Sind, ranging from none in the province of Multān to a high of from 46 to 77 percent in Eastern Sind. Excluding Multān, Buddhists formed from 31 to 52 percent (depending on the density of the capital city) of the population, with the upper figure perhaps being more accurate. It must be pointed out, however, that these figures and calculations are extremely provisional. Hiuen Tsiang's estimation of the extent of the capitals and the numbers of Buddhist monks is suspiciously uniform. It is highly unlikely that the capitals of Multān, Eastern Sind, Las Bela, and the Indus Delta would all be 30 *li*. Further, it is not clear whether the cities formed 1.5 percent, or more or less, of the total population or what percentage of the Buddhist population was monks. Nevertheless, the data indicate, in a very general way, the relative balance between the two religions in Lower Sind and the predominance of Hinduism in Upper Sind.

49 Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 272-81. This does not include Varana (Fa-la-na), modern Bannu in Waziristan, which had five Pāśupata temples (ibid.: 281-82). This area may have been incorporated in Arab Sind.

voted to the goddess, known locally as Bībī (or Mā'ī) Nānī by the Muslims and Pārvatī, Kālī, or Mātā by the Hindus.[50] Kālī is also honoured by a small temple, of undetermined antiquity, located on Astola or Heptaler Island (Śata-dvipa), twenty-six miles southeast of Pasni on the coast of Mukrān.[51] Further north but still in Mukrān, there is ■ temple devoted to Kālī in Kelat (Jamiat Rai 1974 [1913]: 18; Leech 1843: 476) and a Śaivite temple in Mastang (Leech 1843: 473). It is difficult, however, to gauge the antiquity of these two sites in the absence of literary references or recent excavations.

A number of Pāśupata temples were located in the Indus Delta. The city of Daybul (Devala) was renowned for its temple devoted to Maheśvara Śiva: "The temple is ornamented with rich sculptures, and the image of the Dêva is possessed of great spiritual powers. The Pāśupata heretics dwell in the temple" (Hiuen Tsiang 1884 vol. 2: 276). The temple has been excavated, yielding an image-pedestal and a number of large Śaivite *liṅgas*, including one intact with its *yoni* (*Banbhōr* 1971: 12-14; Ashfaque 1969: 188, 198-99; "Banbhore" 1968: 183-84). The veneration of the *liṅga* in this region is confirmed, at ■ later date, by Bīrūnī (1964 [1910] vol. 2: 104) who observes that "in the south-west of the Sindh country this idol is frequently met with in the houses destined for the worship of the Hindus." According to Muslim sources, the temple at Daybul had ■ spire and dome and contained within it seven hundred women devoted to its service (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 104, 108; Balādhurī 1866: 437; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 345-46). The reference is clearly to *deva-dāsīs*, "servants of the god" (i.e., of Śiva as lord of the dance), who were associated with medieval Hindu temples ■■ dancers, musicians, and entertainers. There are other indications of the importance of the Delta in Śaivism. The *Śiva Purāṇa* refers to the Indus River as a place where "ablution therein accords perfect knowledge" (1970 vol. 1:76), while the lake at the juncture of the Indus and the sea was a site where "on touching the holy water . . . the Dharma of holy ascetics eradicated all their impurities" (ibid.: 329; cf. vol. 4: 1630-31). A number of sites in the Delta have acquired particular sanctity for the Kānphaṭa ("Split-eared") Śaivites, a sect closely connected to the Pāśupata (Briggs 1973 [1938]: 103-5, 109-10).

Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 279-81) reports Pāśupata temples on the west

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50 For a description of this famous Hindu shrine see Hart (1840: 152), Masson (1843: 390-91), Hughes (1977 [1878]: 55, 148-49), and M. A. Stein (1943: 202-3). Śaivite pilgrimage to the site is discussed by Briggs (1973 [1938]: 105-10), while its role in later Hindu Śāktism is noted by Gupta, Hoens, and Goudriaan (1979: 37-38). ■ is unfortunate that this temple, of undeniable antiquity, has not yet attracted the attention of archaeologists.

51 Greek sources on Alexander's conquest of Sind refer to this island as "Couch of the Nymphs" after a Nereid who was said to have transmuted sailors into fish (Eggermont 1975: 81-82). It may well be the country of women noted by Hiuen Tsiang is his description of Mukrān (1884 vol. 2: 277-79). A detailed description of the site and its pilgrimage rites is given in the *Baluchistan District Gazetteer* (1906-8 vol. 8: 276-80). Also ■■ Masson (1843: 391-93), Leech (1843: 474), and Dey (1971 [1927]: 20).

bank of the Indus in the regions of Pi-to-shi-lo (Sīwistān) and 0-fan-ch'a (Sibi or Budhīyah).[52] Archaeological evidence attests to the presence of Śaivites in the region. A number of terracotta seals were uncovered at Jhukar (six miles west of Larkana) with the inscription "of Hara (Śiva), the wearer of skulls" (*śrī karpari harasya*).[53] Śaivite artifacts have been found in other parts of Sind. A two foot high terracotta slab of Śiva and consort, several *liṅgas*, and a statue of Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa) have been uncovered at Vijnot in Upper Sind (Branfill 1882), while several statues of Gaṇapati, Śiva and consort, finely carved ivory Gaṇas (attendants of Śiva and consort), and ■ large Śaivite trident have been found at Brahmanābād (Cousens 1925: 51, 56; Sykes 1857; Barrett 1955).

The Pāśupata was ■ Śaivite sect associated with Śiva in his aspect of the "Herdsman" (*paśu*, "animal" and *pati*, "lord").[54] While the worship of this form of Śiva in Sind may have considerable antiquity,[55] the Pāśupata system itself became prominent in North India in the century before the Arab conquest. It had a unique theology and series of rituals which sharply differentiated it from other Hindu systems. First and foremost, the Pāśupata doctrine was thoroughly theistic. The Supreme Lord (Īśvara), absorbing the functions of other deities, was considered the ultimate cause, maintainer, and destroyer of the universe (Sāyaṇa 1958: 18-19, 24). He is beginningless, unborn, and eternal. While other Hindu systems maintained that god must act in conformity with human *karma*, the Pāśupata asserted the radical view that God was absolutely independent:

> We must admit that the power of unobstructed action by which the Lord, who is of inconceivable power, causes (all) affects, is ■ power which follows His will. Accordingly, it has been said by those versed in our (Pāśupata) tradition. "God acts according to his will, independent of human deeds (*karma*) and so forth." From this cause he is said in scripture to be the cause of all causes [ibid.: 31].[56]

Chach b. Sīlā'ij may well be reflecting this view of Śiva when he describes his belief in "the One God, incomparable and without equal, the Creator of the world" (*khudā-yi yagānah bī-chūn va-bī-chigūnah va-āfrīdgār-i 'ālam [Chach-*

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52 Sīwistān (modern Sehwan) is a variation of Śivisthāna and Sibi of Sivi, both names reflecting Śaivite connections. See, for these locations, Dey (1971 [1927]: 187-88), Dani (1964), and Nabi Khan (1962).

53 N. G. Majumdar 1934: 9, 17, and plate 14. Śiva as wearer of skulls was particularly revered by the Kāpālikas, ■ branch of the Pāśupata (see Lorenzen 1972: 80-81).

54 The following discussion of the ideology and rituals of the Pāśupata is based primarily on Sāyaṇa-Mādhava (1958: 8-32) and the *Pāśupata Sūtram* (1970) and secondarily on Lorenzen (1972: 173-92), R. G. Bhandarkar (1965 [1913]: 121-24), Dasgupta (1922-62 vol. 5: 1-10, 130-49), and Jash (1974: 35-60).

55 Note the small seal uncovered at Mohenjo-daro and normally perceived as reflecting ■ proto-Paśupati form of Śiva (Marshall 1931 vol. 1: 52-56; Bhattacharji 1970: 112-15; Banerjea 1956: 159; but note the reservations of Srinivasan [1975-76, 1984]).

56 According to Lorenzen (1972: 190-91), it was on these grounds that the Pāśupata were subjected to criticism by other Hindu schools: i.e., if God ■■ not subject to *karma*, then men's actions were fruitless.

nāmah 1939: 41]). While H. T. Lambrick has seen ■ Muslim gloss in this passage of the *Chachnāmah*,[57] the sentiment expressed by Chach is certainly comprehensible within ■ Pāśupata theist perspective. As Surendranath Dasgupta (1922-62 vol. 5: 142) has observed of the Pāśupata system: "Here we have monotheism, but not monism or pantheism or panentheism." Moreover, there is ■ clear precedent available in the Muslim material on Indian religions which uniformly attribute to the Pāśupata (termed *bahawadīyah* or *mahādawīyah*) a belief in the Creator (*al-khāliq*).[58] As Bruce Lawrence (1976: 165) has pointed out with regard to Shahrastānī's description of the Pāśupata, "it is the only instance in *Milal wan-niḥal* or other extant Muslim accounts where an Indian sect is credited with worshipping the Creator Himself." One is reminded here of the Śaṅkara's refutation of the Pāśupata as those who believe in God as the Creator of the world (Jash 1974: 52; Dasgupta 1922-62 vol. 5: 130). The theism of the Pāśupata is recognized by Shahrastānī (1961 vol. 2: 256-57) who subsumes the sect under the rubric *aṣḥāb al-rūḥānīyāt* ("followers of spiritual beings") rather than *'abadat al-aṣnām* ("image worshippers").

The Pāśupata aspirant (*sādhaka*) followed a specific regimen of rituals through five stages leading eventually to deliverance (*duḥkhānta* or *nirvāṇa*).[59] In the initial stages, the aspirant resided in a temple and undertook the characteristic Pāśupata rite of bathing the body with ashes three times a day. He also was required to worship Śiva through six kinds of oblations: e.g., laughter, song, and dance.[60] In the next stage, the aspirant abandoned his sectarian marks, left the temple, and deliberately courted the censure of the population through disreputable or improper acts. These are the six doors (*dvāras*) incumbent on the aspirant: *krāthana* (snoring or pretending to be asleep when awake), *spandana* (trembling parts of the body as if suffering from illness), *maṇḍana* (limping like ■ cripple), *śṛṅgāraṇa* (making amorous gestures at a young woman), *avitatkaraṇa* (performing nonsensical or improper actions), and *avitadbhāṣaṇa* (uttering non-

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57 "Here Chach declares himself a monotheist: though we are told that at Multan he prostrated himself before an idol and offered sacrifice. It appears that the Muslim author of the chronicle is so enthralled by Chach's career that at times he forgets that he was an infidel, and unconsciously attributes to him the outlook of a Muslim" (Lambrick 1973: 164).

58 As Gardīzī (1948: 631) notes of this group: "He [their prophet] came and ordered them to worship the Creator, (saying): 'and also worship Mahā-dev as God, may he be glorified and exalted', ■ whatever happens to them happens through him. They make idols in his likeness." A similar description is given by Shahrastānī (1961 vol. 2: 256-57), Marwazī (1942: 41), and Muṭahhar (1899-1919 vol. 4: 11-12). The Pāśupata are clearly intended since the practice of smearing the body with ashes (the major rite of the Pāśupata) is prominent in all the Muslim accounts. For a discussion of this material see Lawrence (1976: 162-70).

59 *Pāśupata Sūtram* (1970: 52-53). See the chart given by Lorenzen (1972: 186). It is the first two stages which give the system its unique characteristics.

60 *Pāśupata Sūtram* (1970: 60-61); Sāyaṇa (1958: 26-27). Many Pāśupata adepts became renowned as experts in drama, music, and dance as ■ result of this aspect of their ritual (Lorenzen 1972: 186-87). It is possible that the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 220-21) is referring to some of these practices when it notes that members of the Sammah caste greeted the Arabs with music and dance.

sensical or contradictory speech). The calculated elicitation of abuse and censure, while similar in many respects to Cynicism,[61] is particularly associated in Hinduism with the Pāśupata. It was done in order to transfer merit (i.e., to absorb the positive merit of those abusing the aspirant) and, more importantly, to cultivate ascetic detachment by appearing offensive: "For he who is despised lies happy, freed of all attachment."[62]

The successful practice of this regimen ultimately led the aspirant to *duḥkhānta*. Significantly, in a theistic system, it was achieved not solely through individual effort but "through the grace of God" (*Sūtra* v. 40, in Lorenzen 1972: 191). In contrast to other Hindu systems, the individual soul does not become absorbed in God, but remains forever in a state of linkage from which there is no return by way of rebirth:

> In other systems *vidhi* (e.g. the Vedic prescriptions) leads to a heaven from which one must return (to rebirth or earth); but here (our prescriptions) leads to the presence (of God) and so forth from which there is no return [Sāyaṇa 1958: 30-31].

Two kinds of deliverance are mentioned—the impersonal and the personal. The former is negative, consisting of "the absolute destruction of all suffering" (ibid.: 19). The latter, however, is positive, granting to the individual various higher powers (e.g., the ability to see and hear all objects) of Maheśvara Śiva.[63]

Saura. The second identifiable Hindu religious group in Sind is the solar cult (Saura) which was devoted to the worship of the sun-god Sūrya. It was centred primarily at the sun-temple of Multān (Mūlasthāna), although its adherents were found elsewhere judging from the elaborate stone frame of Sūrya found in the ruins of Brahmanābād (Cousens 1925: 55 and plate 14; Lohuizen 1981: 44, 51, and plate 2). Although possibly incorporating elements of Vedic solarity, the sect had a foreign origin, being derived ultimately from the Iranian worship of Mithra (Skt., Mitra).[64] The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 37, 239) actually refers to the

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61 There are other parallels as well. Hercules, the patron saint of Cynicism, and Lakulīśa, the reputed founder of the Pāśupata, are both portrayed as carrying clubs and their names are semantically and phonetically similar. For these and other parallels see Ingalls (1962). One is reminded here of the Sibians, a tribe noted in the classical accounts of Alexander's conquest of Sind. They dressed in the skins of wild animals, carried clubs, and claimed descent from the army of Hercules (Eggermont 1975: 138-44).

62 Kauṇḍinya, cited in Ingalls 1962: 286. Note the observations of Lorenzen (1972: 186-87) on this point.

63 Sāyaṇa 1958: 19-21; *Pāśupata Sūtram* 1970: 30-31. These are of two types: the power of perception and action. The first has five divisions: *darśana*, being able to see and touch all objects; *śravana*, hear all sounds; *manana*, know all thoughts; *vijñāna*, know all scripture; *sarvajñatva*, know all principles. The powers of action are three: *manojavita*, perform all actions instantaneously; *kāmarūpitva*, assume any form at will; *vikaraṇadharmitva*, act without physical organs. Perhaps the story in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 223) of the magical powers of a *jōginī* (Skt., *yoginī*) might reflect perceptions of the higher supernatural powers of the Pāśupata.

64 The most comprehensive account of the Indian solar cult is Stietencron (1966). Also see R. G. Bhandarkar (1965 [1913]: 151-55), V. B. Mishra (1973: 34-37), and V. C. Srivastava (1972).

Multān temple as Mistravī and Minravī, designations which clearly reflect Mitravana ("forest of Mitra"), an alternate Purāṇic appellation for Mūlasthāna.[65]

The traditional legend of the importation of heliolatry into Sind is known from several Purāṇas (summarized by R. G. Bhandarkar 1965 [1913]: 153; Bhattacharji 1970: 277-28; Shastri 1969: 139-42). Sāmba, ■ son of the Yādava prince Kṛṣṇa, was cured of leprosy through the intercession of Sūrya and hence constructed ■ temple in the god's honour at Mūlasthāna (also called Sāmbapura). Since he was unable to locate a Brahmin willing to officiate over the new form of worship, he introduced Maga (Arabic, *majūs*) priests from Eastern Iran (Śākadvīpa). According to Varāhamihira (Shastri 1969: 140-41), a Maga priest himself, they were the only individuals qualified to serve the sun-god, ■ view corroborated by Bīrūnī (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 121). They eventually were integrated into the caste system as Maga-Brahmins (V.C. Srivastava 1972: 244-52; Prakash 1964: 248-49).

The centre of heliolatry in Sind was at the renowned temple of Multān. Indeed, it was the most important sun-temple in all India at the time of Hiuen Tsiang's visit:

> There is a temple dedicated to the sun, very magnificent and profusely decorated. The image of the Sun-dêva is cast in yellow gold and ornamented with rare gems. Its divine insight is mysteriously manifested and its spiritual power made plain to all. Women play their music, light their torches, offer their flowers and perfumes to honour it. . . . The kings and high families of the five Indies never fail to make their offerings of gems and precious stones (to this Dêva). They have founded a house of mercy (happiness), in which they provide food, and drink, and medicines for the poor and sick, affording succour and sustenance. Men from all countries come here to offer up their prayers; there are always some thousands doing so [1884 vol. 2: 274-75].

The gold image described by Hiuen Tsiang was removed by Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim at the time of the initial Arab conquest.[66] Later Muslim descriptions of the image are of a restored, leather-covered version.[67]

According to Bīrūnī (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 116), the image of Multān was called Āditya, another name for the sun-god (Daniélou 1964: 96-97). It is probable that Multān is the unnamed temple of the *dīnīkītīyah* (restored as *Ādityabhaktīyah*, "sun-worshippers") mentioned by the Muslim sources on Indian reli-

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65 The restoration was suggested by Hodivala (1957: 10). For Mitravana see Sircar (1971b: 249-50) and V. C. Srivastava (1972: 267).

66 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 240. The treasure found by the Arabs at Multān is said to have been deposited originally by a king of Kashmir named Jasvayn (ibid.: 239-40). The name is reminiscent of Jayasvāmin, the Kashmiri sun-god (V. B. Mishra 1973: 36).

67 Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 321; Ibn Rustah 1892: 135-37; Maqdisī 1877: 483-84; Marwazī 1942: 48-49. The best critical study of the Muslim sources on Multān is Friedmann (1972). Also see Maqbul Ahmad (1973), Chaghtai (1975), Mirchandani (1968), and Durrani (1980).

gions.[68] Ibn al-Nadīm (1970 vol. 2: 833; Cf. Gardīzī 1948: 637) observes of this group that "persons with maladies—leprosy, leprous skin, lameness, and other distressing forms of illness" came to the sun-image in order to find a cure. Sanative and convalescent objectives for making the pilgrimage are confirmed specifically for the sun-temple of Multān by Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 274) and Ibn Rustah (1892: 137). The *Kuvalayamālākahā* (written 779 A.D.) refers to seriously ill and disabled individuals in the city of Mathurā making plans to visit Mūlasthāna in order to be cured of their disabilities (cited in Prakash 1971: 205-6). It was probably this curative function of the sun-god which rendered the temple of Multān important as a centre of pilgrimage for Indian and Sindī Hindus.

Other sects. Although the evidence is not substantial, there were certainly other Hindu sects extant in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest. A large, well-preserved brass image of the god Brahmā has been uncovered at Mirpur Khas in southeast Sind (Cousens 1925: 10 and plate 2; Banerjea 1956: 518 and plate 45; Gopinatha Rao 1968 [1914-16] vol. 2: 509-10 and plate 148), while fragments of an image of the god Viṣṇu have been discovered at Daybul (Lohuizen 1981: 52 and plate 14). Vaiṣṇava themes are clearly evident in Bhejjala's *Rādhāvipralambha*, a drama concerning the separation of Rādha from Kṛṣṇa which was written in a Sindi dialect (*saindhava-bhāṣā*) not later than the tenth century A.D.[69]

As one would expect in an arid land nourished by a dominant river, folk tales and legends attest an old cult of the Indus. The primary example of this riverine cult is found in the worship of Uḍerolāl who is perceived by Sindī Hindus as an incarnation of Varuṇa, the god of waters.[70] Suniti Chatterji (1958: 70) has suggested that the name is derived from the Prakrit Uḍḍa-yara, "creator of the waters," an epithet of Varuṇa. Since the Saindhava dynasty (eighth-ninth centuries A.D.), formed in Kathiawar by emigrants from Sind, had as their emblem the fish, the sign of Varuṇa (Altekar 1941-42: 188), it is possible that this form of river-worship, so characteristic of later Sindī Hinduism, extended back

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68 Shahrastānī 1961 vol. 2: 258; Ibn al-Nadīm 1964 [1871] vol. 1: 348; Gardīzī 1948: 637; Marwazī 1942: 33, 45. But note the reservations of Bruce Lawrence (1976: 194-95) on this point. For the purposes of this study, it is apparent that Multān was the main centre of sun-worship in Sind, regardless of whether or not it was the unnamed center of the Āditya-bhaktīyah of the Muslim sources.

69 F. Hardy 1983: 602-3. The drama is extant only in fragments. Hardy refers to another early *rāsaka* (a genre celebrating the *rāsa* dance of Kṛṣṇa with the milkmaids), the *Sandeśa-rāsaka*, which was composed somewhere in Western India before the twelfth century A.D. by "Abdul Rahman" (ibid.: 603). If the name is accepted (Arabic 'Abd al-Raḥmān), this would represent one of the earliest known examples of Muslim participation in the Bhakti tradition.

70 The myth of Uḍerolāl is recounted by Kincaid (1925: ch. 2) and *Gazetter* (1907-26 vol. A: 165-66). Riverine beliefs and rituals in Sind are noted by Burton (1973 [1851]: 326-34), Carter (1917), Thakur (1959: 19-21, 123-34), and Ajwani (1970: 19-42).

to the Arab period. It should be pointed out, however, that the sources for the period under consideration neither cite nor describe any river-worshipping sects actually within Sind. Perhaps they were contained as regional variations within the pan-Indian Hindu systems named in the sources.

CHAPTER TWO

Conquest and Conversion

Introduction

NOWHERE IN RECENT TIMES has the polemical debate over Arab Sind been more rancorous and sustained than in the dual topics of conquest and conversion. Basically, the argument has been reduced to a question of the methods utilized by the Arab Muslims in the conquest and conversion of Sind. Two antagonistic perspectives have emerged from which there is very little deviation: (1) the early British administrator-historian and Indian nationalist view that both the conquest and conversion took place either solely or primarily by the sword; (2) the Indian Muslim modernist and Pakistan nationalist view that the conquest was largely, and conversion wholly, peaceful.[1]

Both perspectives are based on a mutually exclusive and antipathetic perception of what the religion Islam is, and both are, moreover, informed by contemporary considerations: the British historians, like Elliot (1867) and Cousens (1925), generally comparing the religious policies of the Arabs in Sind with those of the British to the discomfort of the former; the Indian nationalists, like Majumdar (1931, 1954b) and Vaidya (1921-26), perceiving the Arab conquest as only the first in a long and sustained Muslim onslaught which, when followed by the British occupation, resulted in keeping the native Indians from developing the social and economic promise inherent in the classical Gupta period; the modern Indian Muslim and Pakistan nationalists, like Habib (1929) and Qureshi (1967), reading the Arab conquest as representing the best of pristine Islam which, in contrast to the perceived less-Muslim Turkish conquests, could form a paradigm for modern Muslim behaviour in the subcontinent. Unfortunately, recent historians have not yet succeeded in removing the topic from its polemical trappings, and this has compromised the objective study of conversion processes in Arab Sind.

Coercive conversion. The view that conversion in Arab Sind was necessarily forced conversion as a direct consequence of the militant nature of Islam was expounded by H. M. Elliot (1867) who translated (or had translated for him)

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1 For a general overview of the secondary literature on conversion in Muslim India see Peter Hardy (1977).

the various histories of Sind bearing on the Arab period.[2] His translations have generally been used and his observations and conclusions accepted as proven by later historians who did not have access to the languages of the original texts. This is unfortunate since Elliot's perception of Islam as a religion of "terror and devastation, murder and rapine" (p. 414) informs his discussion of conversion processes in Sind. The Arab Muslims of Sind are characterized variously as "ruthless bigots," "furious zealots," and "indolent and effeminate voluptuaries" united simply "by a common tie of fraternity in rapine and propagandism" (pp. 433, 466). They undertook the conquest of Sind in the pursuit of "plunder and proselytism" (p. 435) and were able to enforce their rule through "the rack and the threat of circumcision" (p. 460).

In addition to the simple inducements of terror, torture, and circumcision, Elliot isolates two other means of conversion in Arab Sind: the harsh taxation of non-Muslims and the lack of justice provided them in the Muslim judicial system. In the first case, he argues that the poll-tax (*jizyah*) levied on non-Muslims resulted in wholesale conversions not simply due to the distinguishing nature of the tax, but because it was "always exacted with rigour and punctuality, and frequently with insult" (p. 476). Secondly, he makes the allegation that the Muslim "public tribunals," by which he seems to mean the courts of the *qāḍīs* ("judges"), were "only the means of extortion and forcible conversion" (p. 478), presumably since, in his view, non-Muslims would have been unable to obtain equal justice in these courts. In both these cases, it should be pointed out, Elliot does not draw support for his contentions from the primary sources. The suggestion that the *qāḍīs*' courts were extortionist to non-Muslims is based on British travelogues referring to Sind over a millennium after the arrival of the Arabs. Nor is there any evidence that the Arab Muslims were particularly abusive or rigid in the collection of the *jizyah*. Indeed, as we shall see, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim provided means by which the non-Muslims could protest the tax-assessment if they felt that it was excessive.

In focussing on justice and taxation, Elliot is clearly concerned with comparing Arab and British policies in Sind. He concludes his analysis of the lack of regularized justice provided to non-Muslims in Arab Sind by making the comparison explicit:

> It is expedient that these matters should be often brought back to remembrance and pondered on; for the inhabitants of modern India ... are very apt to forget the very depth of degradation from which the great mass of the people have been raised, under the protection of British supremacy [p. 479].

Pursuing this comparison, actual examples of religious toleration on the part of

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[2] While Elliot was the most influential, he was not the first to reveal this bias. T. Postans (1973 [1843]) noted earlier that during the Arab conquest "the most unrelenting cruelty and intolerance appears to have been exercised" (p. 152) and that "the fanaticism of the Moslems always induces them to make converts instead of ameliorating the condition of the people" (p. 160).

the Arabs in Sind are explained away as not being a result of rational principles of justice or humanity (as in the British case), but simply because the Arabs had no other choice due to their numerical inferiority. Where the Arabs had the ability, according to Elliot, "the usual bigotry and cruelty were displayed" (p. 469).

Early archaeologists working in Sind shared Elliot's perceptions of the violent and coercive nature of Muslim relations with non-Muslims in Arab Sind. As Henry Cousens, the doyen of Sindī archaeology, observed:

> The Arabs destroyed but they did not build. The first invaders from the west, full of zeal for the spread of their newly established religion, laid a heavy hand upon the religious buildings of the Hindus and Buddhists [1925: 10].

Hence, if a Buddhist site was discovered in ruins or fragments of Buddhist sculpture were uncovered, it was assumed to be in that state due to the actions of Arab iconoclasts (Frere 1854: 356; Sahni 1929-30: 161; Cousens 1925: 107-9), notwithstanding the fact that Buddhist sites are in ruins throughout India; if a stūpa did not possess a relic casket (few in India do),[3] it was because the Muslims either plundered it or the Buddhist monks removed the relics to protect them from potential plunder (D. R. Bhandarkar 1914-15: 91-92). As with Elliot, it was not thought necessary to prove any of these assertions; it was taken as given that the Arab Muslims, being Muslim, were fanatically anti-Hindu and anti-Buddhist.[4]

Elliot's view of Islam in Arab Sind was taken and expanded on by the missionary Murray Titus (1959) in a terse anti-Muslim treatise of considerable influence. Originally written as a Ph. D. dissertation at Hartford Seminary Foundation and revised in 1959, it purports to discuss conversion in India solely from Muslim sources (generally via Elliot's translations) and "without bias and prejudice" (p. vi). Titus has reduced the many complex factors initially leading the Arabs to invade Sind to the single religious motive "of striking a blow at idolatry and poiytheism, and of establishing Islam" (p. 10). Not surprisingly, given this simple view of motivation, he maintains that the Arabs brought with them to Sind "a spirit to intolerance and wild fanatical zeal" (p. 17) and that this informed their relationships with non-Muslims in all particulars and necessarily coerced conversions.[5]

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3 According to Sukumar Dutt (1962: 188), Buddhist stūpas in India rarely possessed relics. Nevertheless, relic caskets have been uncovered in Sind at the stūpas at Mirpur Khas (Cousens 1925: 87-88 and plates 23, 25) and Tor-Dherai (M. Stein 1929: 66-67 and fig. 23).

4 This perspective reaches a state of ludicrousness in the voluminous and authoritative *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind.* Here we find that conversion not only took place by force but that the "fervid and fanatical" nature of the religion Islam is the main explanatory factor for the high incidence of what is termed "insanity" in Sind (1907-26 vol. A: 89-91, 158).

5 Presumably illustrating his lack of prejudice, Titus explains here that the Arab treatment of non-Muslims in Sind might "all seem cruelly intolerant to us today; but they were considered just and reasonable by those who made them their philosophy and way of life."

Unlike Elliot, who is willing to admit some religious tolerance among the Arabs in Sind (albeit due to Arab weakness), Titus sees the Arabs as providing a precedent through their actions in Sind for a militant religious intolerance which was subsequently observed by later Indian Muslims (pp. 21, 31). He attempts to prove Arab religious intolerance (and hence forced conversions) through an appeal to Arab military policy: for example, the Arab killing of indigenes in various battles in Sind is taken as evidence of Arab intolerance in religious matters (pp. 19-20). In addition, the examples he gives of actual religious coercion in Sind are highly suspect. Writing of the initial Arab conquest of the city of Daybul, Titus observes:

> Muḥammad b. Quāsim's [*sic*] first act of religious zeal was forcibly to circumcise the Brāhmans of the captured city of Debal; but, on discovering that they objected to this sort of conversion, he then proceeded to put all above the age of seventeen to death, and to order all others, with women and children, to be led into slavery [p. 19; Cf. p. 31].

While Titus does not give a source for this supposed mass circumcision and conversion at Daybul, none of the primary sources consulted for this study refer to it and, moreover, it is highly unlikely.[6] We are also told that Muhammad b. al-Qāsim not only destroyed temples and desecrated images, but that he did so "systematically" and with "malignity" (p. 22). Again, this assertion is unsupported by the primary sources on Sind. When faced with the report in the *Chachnāmah* that the Thaqafite commander permitted the non-Muslims of Brahmanābād to rebuild their temples, Titus comments (p. 20), significantly, that this was only after the Arabs had already destroyed them.[7] Clearly, Titus' perception of Islam as the "church militant" (p. 17), as he puts it, has influenced his reading and revision of the source material.

The Indian nationalist school of historiography has generally accepted without question the premise that conversion in Sind was due to Arab coercion. R. C. Majumdar, the major exponent of this viewpoint, argues from his perception that the religion of Islam in its normative strictures "regarded all non-Muslims as its enemies, to curb whose growth in power and number was conceived to be its main interest. The ideal preached by even high officials was to exterminate them totally" (1954a: 456). Given this view of Islam, it is understandable that he

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6 The alleged mass circumcision and conversion of the Brahmins of Daybul is frequently noted by the secondary literature on Arab Sind. Wherever this information originated, it was not in the primary sources consulted for this study. The nearest corollary is the incident mentioned in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 108-10) where a Brahmin from Daybul, named either Qiblah b. Mahatrā'ij or Sūd-dēv, became a Muslim. Perhaps he was circumcised, but if so it was neither forced (nor solicited) nor mass circumcision.

7 There is no evidence that the Arabs destroyed any temples near Brahmanābād. While the indigenes of the area did ask Muḥammad for permission to repair their temple (ibid.: 212-13), this was probably the same temple whose abbot had informed Chach, long before the Arab conquest, that "due to the exigencies of time, damage has appeared, and it must needs be repaired" (ibid.: 46).

would conclude that the conversion of the non-Muslims of Sind "was mainly due to the policy of humiliation and terrorization, deliberately adopted by the Muslim conquerors towards the non-Muslims" (p. 453). Majumdar sees this first contact between Muslims and non-Muslims in Arab Sind as ominous since, like Titus, he believes that the religious policy of the Thaqafites established ■ consistent intolerant precedent governing subsequent generations of Muslims in India.

There is some disagreement among Indian nationalists over the effects and duration of coercive conversion in Sind. Majumdar has argued that conversion in Sind, since forced, was necessarily ephemeral: "The new faith which they were forced or induced to accept sat very lightly on them" (p. 455). Hence, he concludes, those Hindus and Buddhists who had been coerced into becoming Muslim by the sword of conquest (he equates conquest and conversion) took the first available opportunity to apostatize and by A.D. 750 "Islam lost its footing in Sind" (p. 456).[8] On the other hand, Vaidya (1921-26 vol. 1: 168) equates becoming Muslim with becoming foreign and thus concludes that the conquest of Sind and the conversion of its peoples led to the permanent enslavement of the region.[9]

A variation of this theme is particularly prominent in recent writings of Hindu Sindīs residing in India who argue that the forced conversion of Sindīs to Islam brought about what L. H. Ajwani (1970: 6) calls "a period of almost progressive degeneration." It is alleged that the Arabs who came to Sind brought with them "no constitutional doctrine, no higher culture and no superior art or language" (Thakur 1959: 15). Hence, there could have been no natural non-coercive attraction to an uncivilized culture and religion and, moreover, those who were subsequently compelled by the sword to convert must have experienced cultural degeneration along with their change in religion.[10] There is an implicit assumption in these arguments not only about what Arab Islam was but that those non-

8 Also see S, R. Sharma 1973: 116. This assertion would appear to be based on a misunderstanding of ■ report found in Balādhurī (1866:444) which refers to the loss during the governorship of al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah al-Kalbī (113-20/731-37) of the territories of India (i.e., Hind not Sind) previously conquered by al-Junayd (104-10/722-28). Majumdar has not drawn the distinction between Hind and Sind, between conquest and conversion, or between Islam and the Arabs. A revolt is not necessarily apostasy. In any case, even in Sind, it is highly unlikely that at this date, only twenty years after the initial conquest, large numbers of Sindīs has been converted, either forcibly peacefully.

9 Hence, in his estimation, all subsequent indigenous Sindī dynasties (e.g., the Sammah or Sūmarh) would be seen ■ foreign simply because their rulers were Muslim.

10 To be sure, this view is not limited to Indian nationalist historians. Captain James McMurdo, one of the first British to study the history of Sind, noted that "from the time of [Sind's] subversion by the power of the Khālifs, society was dismembered, the consolidated authority, which secured quiet and confidence to the people, was broken up, and an aristocracy formed on its ruins, which threw Sindh back, in point of political situation, to that of a country in the first stage of its emerging from barbarism" (1834: 237). And James Tod (1971 [1829-32] vol. 2: 257) observes that the Sindī, when he converts to Islam, is "transformed into a wild beast," becoming "cruel, intolerant, cowardly, and inhospitable."

Muslims of Sind who converted had accepted this posited version of Islam without any regional variations.

Recently, a somewhat more sophisticated variation of the militant conversion thesis has become current. This version initially emerged as a corrective to secondary accounts attempting to explain the defeat of the North Indian states in the early Sultanate period. Proponents of this view generally link together the early Arab raids on Mukrān, the Thaqafite conquest of Sind, the various Ghaznavid raids, and the Ghūrid conquest in order to demonstrate both the continuity of Islamic aggression on the Indian subcontinent and its slow progress due to what is thought of as Hindu resistance.[11] Just as Elliot and Titus had argued earlier that the Arabs were driven by their religious beliefs to invade Sind and convert its people, the slow progress adherents argue that the religion of Islam compelled the Arabs, once they had conquered Sind, to invade India and convert its people. That the Arabs failed in this mission is thought to have been due to the strength of Hindu resistance, "the like of which the Arabs had never before encountered in their wars of aggressive conquests in the three continents of the world" (Srivastava 1965: 349).[12] The idea that emerges is that Muslims—whether Arab, Persian, Turk, or Afghan—always had expansive conversionist designs on the subcontinent. They just patiently bided their time, waiting for internal dissensions to appear, biting off a little territory here and there, finally to sweep across North India when the Gurjara-Pratīhāra confederation broke up.

Unfortunately, this theory reifies both Hinduism and Islam to an unwarranted and unworkable extent. It is difficult to see the rationale of considering all raids on Sind and India by Muslim peoples from the first century A. H. up to the Ghūrids as part of one inexorable onslaught with a single motive: to conquer India in order to convert non-Muslims. Surely the methods and motives of the raids on Sind undertaken during the caliphate of 'Uthmān (23-35/644-56) need to be carefully distinguished from those of either al-Ḥajjāj (75-95/694-713) or Maḥmūd Ghaznavi (388-421/998-1031). The reduction of Islam to a single dimension over such a long period of time disguises the very real differences between the various states and peoples that happened to be Muslim in their religion. For example, Arab Sind, a Muslim state, responded to the invasion of the Muslim forces of Maḥmūd Ghaznavī by entering into alliances with certain surrounding Hindu states (Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 9:186). To judge from their actions, it is unlikely that they perceived anything particularly "Islamic" in Maḥmūd's raids as Muslim Sind or anything "non-Islamic" in being allied with states

11 The argument was developed initially by D. R. Bhandarkar (1929) and R. C. Majumdar (1931), and expanded by A. L. Srivastava (1965) and Richards (1974). Srivastava's article is criticized by A. K. Majumdar (1966), and in turn rebutted by Srivastava (1967). For specific incidents see Ganguly (1938) and Mathur (1953-54). Avasthy and Ghosh (1936-37) have compiled the majority of relevant inscriptions.

12 R. C. Majumdar (1931: 49) compares the Arab conquest of Sind to that of Spain, and the Hindu resistance to that of Europe, with Pulakeśin taking the place of Charlemagne.

whose rulers and people were Hindu. Furthermore, it is unclear why the diverse peoples, states, and religions of India itself should be lumped into a single grouping ■■ evidencing "Hindu" resistance over six centuries. Various Indian states resisted various Muslim raids, and undertook raids and treaties of their own against both Muslim and non-Muslim states.[13] The resistance of the Indian states can be termed "Hindu" only in the limited sense that the religion of the majority of the people and rulers of these regions was probably Hinduism.

In addition, there is a certain degree of confusion and inconsistency in the use of the primary material employed to support this position. Sanskrit terms, occurring in epigraphs,[14] are read as meaning the Arab Muslims of Sind in all cases: *tājika* ("Persian"),[15] *mleccha* ("non-Aryan"),[16] *turuṣka* ("Turk"),[17] and *yavana* ("Greek").[18] The identification is assumed without confirmation that Arabs are intended by the epigraphs or, if this is likely, whether or not they are the Muslims of Arab Sind. The term *tājika*, for example, could apply equally to the large Arab settlements in Sandān and Ṣaymūr (see Janaki 1969 for these towns) and not to the Arabs of Sind. All the other terms are ambiguous and may or may not refer to the Muslims of Arab Sind; in many cases, they clearly do not.[19]

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13 The Rāṣṭrakūṭas, for example, had relatively peaceful relations with Arab Sind, while the Gurjara-Pratīhāras did not. For ■ discussion of the evidence see S. Maqbul Ahmad's commentary in his translation of Idrīsī (1960: 138-40, 143-44).

14 For similar confusion resulting from the use of epigraphs alone for the construction of Indian dynastic history see David P. Henige (1975).

15 The Prince of Wales Museum Plate, dated K. 486/A.D. 736, refers to Jayabhaṭa (either III or IV) defeating the *tājikas* (Acharya 1935-36: 154), while the Nausari Grant refers to a defeat inflicted on the *tājikas* by Pulakeśin (Avasthy and Ghosh 1936: 162-63). Both epigraphs are assumed to refer to a defeat of the governor of Sind al-Junayd (104-10/772-28). For the term *tājika* see Sircar 1971a: 126-27, 131.

16 The Gwalior Praśasti refers to Nāgabhaṭa I defeating ■ *mleccha* army (Hirananda 1903-4: 283; R. C. Majumdar 1925-26: 110), while the Dholpur Inscription of Caṇḍamahāsena, the Cāhamāna prince, refers to a defeat of the *mleccha* lords on the banks of the Carmanvatī River (Avasthy and Ghosh 1936-37: 164-65). For the term see Bosc (1961-67 vol. 2: 238) and T. R. Sharma (1978: 149-52).

17 The above-mentioned Gwalior Praśasti has Nāgabhaṭa seizing the hill forts of the *turuṣka* (R. C. Majumdar 1925-26: 112 verse 11; Hirananda 1903-4: 284), while the Amoda Plates refer to the Haihaya king Kokkala I seizing the treasures of the *turuṣka* (Hiralal 1927-28; Avasthy and Ghosh 1936-37: 165). For the term see Sircar 1971a: 7, 29, 290.

18 The Khalimpur Plate refers to Dharmapāla installing ■ king over Kānyakubja who was then accepted by the *yavanas* and other peoples (Kielhorn 1896-97: 252 verse 12). For the term see Sircar 1971a: 396 (index).

19 The Dholpur Inscription extols the Cāhamāna prince Caṇḍamahāsena "whom the brave Mlecchа lords living on both banks of the river Carmanvatī serve, bowing down" (Avasthy and Ghosh 1936-37: 164-65). On this slim basis, B. N. Puri (1957: 56) proposes that the Cāhamāna prince defeated the Arabs with the aid of the Gurjara Bhoja I since otherwise he could not have overcome "the hardy musalmans." However, it is highly unlikely that at this date there would have been ■ large community of Arabs living in the heart of North India (for the Carmanvatī, modern Chambal in Rajputana, see Dey 1971 [1927]: 48). The reference is probably to some other *mleccha* tribe, perhaps the Bhil who, according to Ahluwalia, are "still inhabiting the area of the find-spot of the inscription" (1969: 165). Similarly, when the Khalimpur Plate refers to the Pāla king installing ■ ruler at Kānyakubja, "who readily was accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya,

The drawbacks of this approach are particularly evidenced in a provocative recent article by J. F. Richards (1974). He has attempted to put the Muslim onslaught argument on a more historical basis by quantifying the early military clashes between Muslims and Hindus (i.e., Indian states) in order to show that "the continuity of resistance can be readily demonstrated" (p. 94). He also appears to accept the view that the Arab advances into Sind and India were part of a general Arab Muslim religious policy towards the Hindus of the subcontinent.[20] A close examination of his data, however, reveals the hazards of making such claims without reference to the primary Arabic sources. He lists around twenty-two separate military clashes pertaining to Arab Sind;[21] of these, less than ten are likely to have occurred, even accepting that the *turuṣkas* ("Turks") of the inscriptions refer to the Arab Muslims of Sind, which is unlikely.[22] The remainder of his examples are either conflicts not attested to by the primary sources (e.g., Abū Turāb)[23] or multiplications of single incidents (e.g., al-Junayd's raid on India is listed as five different events, the last occurring seventeen years after his dealth in Khurāsān and twenty-two years after his departure from Sind).[24] It is clear that the argument of a concerted Muslim "drive to India," extending over six centuries, is not easily sustained.

Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Gandhara and Kira kings, bowing down respectively with their diadems trembling" (Kielhorn 1896-97: 252), it does not follow that *yavana* ("Greek") "must refer to the Muhamadan principality of Multan" as suggested by Avasthy and Ghosh (1936-37: 164). It is more likely that the ancient term *yavana* is included, as Kielhorn notes (1896-97: 246), solely for poetic reasons. It certainly does not indicate that the Arabs of Sind were defeated by Dharmapāla, the Pāla king of Bengal.

20 Richards (1974: 95) considers the raids on India conducted by al-Junayd as part of an Umayyad "Hindu policy," which is unlikely although they may have been part of an Indian policy.

21 See ibid.: 94-98 for a list of the relevant engagements. Included here are raids by Arabs in the pre-conquest period, conflicts between Arabs and Indians in Sind or based on Sind, and Indian attacks on Sind or on Arabs from Sind. I am not concerned here with Richards' data on the Ghaznavids or Ghūrids.

22 The Amoda Plate refers to a minor Haihaya, Kokkala I (reigned ca. A.D. 850-80) who "forcibly snatched away the treasuries, horses and elephants of the Karṇāṭa, Vaṇga, Gurjara, Koṅkaṇa, Sākambharī and Turuṣka and of those born in Raghu's family, and made a pillar of victory in the world" (Avasthy and Ghosh 1936-37: 165). Richards (1974: 96) follows Majumdar here and sees this as evidence for "Kalachuri raids into Sind." It seems improbable, however, that this minor prince could have been able to defeat the rulers of the Deccan (Karṇāṭa) and Bengal (Vaṅga), let alone Sind.

23 As we shall see in chapter three, Abū Turab was probably an Arab soldier who drowned in the Indus River at the time of the Thaqafite conquest (94/712) and about whom later legends concerning his sanctity and power evolved.

24 Al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī was governor of Sind from around 104/722 to 110/728 (Balādhurī 1866: 442; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 379-80; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 589-90), and died in Khurāsān in 115/733 or 116/734 (Crone 1980: 98; Ibn Ḥazm 1948: 240-41; Kalbī 1966 vol. 1: 127, vol. 2: 265). Richards also multiplies the confrontation between Jaysīyah (not Hullishah) and Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab (and not his father al-Muhallab b. Abī Ṣufrah who raided Mukrān some fifty years earlier) into four different events ranging from A.D. 715 to 721 (Ḥabīb was governor from 96/714 to 99/717). For the raid of al-Muhallab see Balādhurī (1866: 432), Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 191), Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 3: 446); for the governorship of Ḥabīb see Balādhurī (ibid.: 441), Ibn Khayyāṭ (ibid.: 324), Ibn al-

Voluntary conversion. Thomas W. Arnold, writing in Aligarh in 1896 (2d ed., 1913), was one of the first British historians to respond to the coercive conversion argument. While he was primarily interested in other places and times, he did briefly note the policies of religious toleration established by the Arabs in Sind which, in his view, resulted in conversions being "in the main voluntary" (1968 [1913]: 275). Muslim historians when they have engaged the issue, admittedly infrequently, generally have followed a voluntary conversion perspective. Like the proponents of coercive conversion, they have focussed on the methods of the Arab conquest; but, in sharp contrast to the former, they have tended to emphasize the peaceful and liberal policies of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, their modernity, and contrast these with the policies of later Muslim invaders of India. Mohammad Habib, a Muslim and an Indian nationalist, compares at length the policies of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim with those of the Turko-Afghans, reaching the conclusion that the former were truely Islamic (liberal, generous, and tolerant of all religions) while the latter were non-Islamic (illiberal, ignoble, and intolerant): "Alone among the many Muslim invaders of India Muhammad Qāsim is a character of whom a conscientious Mussalman need not be ashamed" (Habib 1929: 609). While Habib does not offer an explicit theory of conversion for Sind, one can conclude from his analysis that since religious freedom was allowed by the Arabs, what conversion took place must have been voluntary.[25]

Accepting the premise that conversions in Sind were voluntary, Muslim historians have tended to focus their interest on why conversions took place. That is, if one accepts the view that conversion was not coerced, then an explanation for conversion is still required. For the most part, their arguments have issued from perceptions of the nature of Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism. This takes various forms. Moulvi Syed Sahib Hashimi (1927: 207), convinced of the importance of exemplary biography, has no doubts that it was the "praiseworthy conduct" of the Arab Muslims which caused the Sindī non-Muslims to have "embraced Islam in flocks." At the time of the Arab conquest, the non-Muslims of Sind consisted of, in his view, "many nomadic savage tribes, who lived by plunder and were akin to beasts in their mode of life" (ibid.). Yet after conversion to Islam, "those very savages and barbarians appear to have become civilized citizens." His argument seems to be that Sindīs converted to Islam because it was a superior civilizational complex which the non-Muslims were able to recognize through the behaviour of the Arab Muslims. This general position has recently been echoed by Ashiq Durrani (1980: 252-53) who notes that "Islam

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Athīr (ibid. vol. 4: 589), Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 356). To be sure, these (and other) errors do not originate with Richards who simply quantifies the military clashes reported in the standard secondary literature.

25 While Habib never did articulate a theory of conversion for Arab Sind, his thoughts on conversion and the thirteenth century A.D. urban revolution in North India was very provocative (1974: 59-84).

came as a blessing, as it helped to free themselves [non-Muslims] from the shackles of perpetual hatred and ignomy. Brave, honest, just and scruplous [*sic*] charcter [*sic*] of the Muslims attracted the local people." The argument is basically the same, although the reverse, of that previously observed among Hindu Sindī historians. Like Thakur and Ajwani for the opposing view, neither Hashimi nor Durrani have presented evidence to support their position on the vitiated nature of the non-Muslim religions of Sind or that biographical considerations resulted in conversions. Their arguments are unlikely to convince anyone who does not share their preconceptions.

The superior religion perspective also informs the account of M. A. Ghani (1941: 405) who isolates three factors leading to conversion:

> The people were profoundly impressed with the purity of their [Arab Muslim] living, their zeal for the new faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood which they preached. This striking feature attracted many an Indian to Islam at once. An idea of the conversion to Islam can be had if we [illegible] told that over fifty thousand people were received into the Islamic fold every year.[26]

Ghani focusses on the equality principle in Islam as being particularly attractive to lower caste Hindus who, by converting, would be able to escape the inequities of the caste system. More recently, N. A. Baloch (1980: 71) has argued that it was "the supremacy of justice and equality of all before the law of Islam" which led the "overwhelming majority" of Sindīs to accept Islam "within a few decades." The argument rests on the assumption that conversion would appeal to lower caste Hindus since the Arabs of Sind, being Muslim, would have operated under the premise of the equality of the community (*ummah*) of all Muslims, regardless of race or caste. However, neither of these scholars has brought forth evidence to prove that the Arab Muslims actually operated under such a policy while in Sind. Indeed, as we shall see, what evidence is available would seem to suggest that Muslim institutions in Sind served partially to legitimize and continue caste inequalities.

Among the few recent Muslim historians writing of Arab Sind, I. H. Qureshi (1962: 39-45) has offered the most detailed exposition of the voluntary conversion hypothesis. Rejecting the possibility of overt Arab pressure, he believes that the conversion of the non-Muslims of Sind can best be understood with reference to the fundamental nature of Buddhism and Hinduism at the time of the conquest. Adopting the argument from religion, he suggests:

> In its struggle with Hinduism, Buddhism had started by making fundamental concessions to the former, and when a religion does that for too long, it is liable to lose its moral stamina and power of resistance. This explains both the many conversions to Islam in this area and the eventual disappearance of Buddhism.

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26 The figure of 50,000 people converted to Islam every year is uncited and unsupported. Note the reservations of R. C. Majumdar (1954b) [illegible] this point.

> Besides, to many Islam appeared as a deliverer from the tyranny of Hinduism and the example of tolerance set by the Arabs seems to have inclined many a Buddhist heart towards Islam [ibid.: 42].

The latter part of the argument is a variation of the superior religion perspective: conversion proceeded via the indigene's rational comparison of the relative virtues of Hinduism and Islam. In this case, Qureshi assumes, the Buddhist would have perceived Islam ■ more tolerant than Hinduism and converted on that basis.

It is, however, the first part of his analysis which has more interest. Qureshi contends that Sindī Buddhism was Mahāyānist at the time of the Arab conquest and that, since this school resembled Hinduism in its essential tenets, its presence in Sind indicates that Buddhism had become "corroded from within by the infiltration of Hindu beliefs and practices" (ibid.: 40). This had important consequences for Buddhism in Sind. After all, he argues:

> Loyalties which are based upon sentimental attachment alone can be easily undermined by persistent missionary activity. The existence of a large number of Buddhists mostly ignorant of their religion gave ■ good opportunity to the Muslims [ibid.].

That is, Buddhism in Sind became too Hinduized, and, hence, Buddhists became alienated from their own original belief system, of which they were largely "ignorant" and to which there remained only "sentimental" attachments. As ■ direct result, Buddhists were readily attracted to Islam by the religious toleration of the Arabs.

Unfortunately, Qureshi's analysis will not stand up to close scrutiny. As noted above in chapter one, Sindī Buddhists belonged predominantly to the Hīnayāna school of the Sammitīya, not to the Mahāyāna. While they may have made some compromises with Hinduism, there is simply no evidence that they had become "ignorant" of the tenets of their religion or that their beliefs were solely "sentimental." On the contrary, a close reading of the *Chachnāmah*, the source for Qureshi's charges, suggests that the Sindī Buddhists had a deep and literate appreciation of their religion.[27] Nor is it clear that the Buddhists perceived Islam as a "deliverer from the tyranny of Hinduism," as Qureshi puts it, although they were certainly antagonistic to the government of the Brahmin Chach who was a Hindu. They may have seen the Arabs (not necessarily Islam) as an aid in their struggle with Chach or Dāhir (not necessarily Hinduism), but this is quite a different matter.

In addition, Qureshi has frequently erred in his reading of the primary source

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27 See, for instance, the speech of the Buddhist abbot Buddah-Rakkū reported in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 45): "As far ■ I am concerned, the service of the *buddah* and the quest for final liberation (*ṭalab-i najāt-i ākhirat*) is preferable to all wordly occupations and power." The reference ■ surely to the *nibbānic* ideal of ascetic renunciation of the world leading to liberation from the Wheel of Rebirth.

material. He argues, for example, that when 'Umar II invited the Sindī princes to accept Islam, "the larger number of converts came from Buddhism" (ibid.: 41). In fact, the only individuals actually know to have converted at this time are Jaysīyah b. Dāhir and possibly his brother Ṣaṣṣah, both indisputably Brahmin and Hindu.[28] This is not an isolated example: the main temple at Multān was Hindu not Buddhist; Chandar b. Sīlā'ij was a Brahmin priest of Arōr not "a pious Buddhist"; the temple of Daybul was Pāśupata Hindu not ▪ Buddhist stūpa; the individual who assisted the Arabs at Daybul was a Brahmin named either Qiblah b. Mahatrā'ij or Sūd-dēv not ▪ Buddhist.[29] Qureshi's reading of the dynamics of conversion in Sind would appear to be based less on the primary sources than on his perceptions of the nature of Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

Explanations of conversion. While recent historians writing on Arab Sind may differ on whether conversion was coerced or not, they do share certain basic elements. First, Arab military policy is generally confounded with Arab religious policy, reducing the subject of conversion to an argument over the methods of conquest. And since the data on the Arab conquest are amenable to various interpretations, both coercive and non-coercive arguments are found here. On the one hand, where soldiers (who happen to be Hindu) are killed in the course of the Arab conquest of Sind, this is taken as evidence for Muslim militancy and intransigence in religious matters; conversely, where soldiers (who happen to be Muslim) spare the lives of individuals (who happen to be Buddhist or Hindu) or take ▪ town of such non-Muslims without loss of life, this is taken as evidence for a liberal Muslim religious policy. If the argument takes the first route, then the conclusion is that conversion was necessarily coerced; if the latter, then non-coerced.

Secondly, a reified perception of the fundamental nature of Islam in particular, but also of Hinduism and Buddhism—generally reflecting recent polemical debates in the Indian subcontinent—informs the various discussions of conversion in Sind. On the one extreme, the argument from religion has maintained that due to certain ideological strictures in normative Islam, the Arab Muslims were compelled by way of religious duty to invade Sind and force the conversion of its peoples. That is, the Arab Muslims are perceived as coercing conversions simply because they were Muslim. On the other extreme, the argument from religion has maintained that the original normative strictures of pristine Is-

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28 The incident is recorded by Balādhurī (1866: 441-42) and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 589-90, vol. 5: 54-55). As sons of Dāhir and scions of the Brahmin Sīlā'ij dynasty, they clearly were Hindu.

29 Qureshi 1962: 38, 42-43. The sun-temple of Multān, the Pāśupata temple at Daybul, and the religious affiliation of Chandar b. Sīlā'ij have been discussed above in chapter one. The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 104-10) gives the ▬ and Brahmanic background of the collaborator at Daybul.

lam required the Arab Muslims by way of religious duty to respect and safeguard the religious beliefs and rituals of Sindī non-Muslims. This latter argument also implies a perspective of normative Hinduism and Buddhism which would necessarily be unappealing to the indigenes in comparison to the vitality and equality of the posited pristine Islam. That is, Hindus and Buddhists in Sind converted by rationally comparing the advantages of Islam to their own defective religious systems. In both cases, general observations concerning these religions are taken as given, and then applied to the specific situation in Arab Sind, with little or no regard to the actual data. As a result, both of these reified arguments from religion fall short of providing credible explanations for the conversion of Sindīs.

On a methodological level, scholars have shown a tendency to misread, distort, or even constitute evidence in pursuit of their convictions. Thus, we find the observation that, on the one hand, Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim forcibly circumcised the Hindus of Daybul or, on the other, that he forbade the slaughter of cows out of respect for Hinduism. Neither of these incidents can be located in the primary sources. In addition, many of the secondary sources make the fundamental error of reading back into Arab Sind information belonging to a much later period. Thus, for example, Elliot's sources for his observation that Islamic courts in Arab Sind led to forced conversions are all British sources for early nineteenth century Tālpūr Sind.[30] The only apparent common ground shared by the Arabs and the Tālpūrs is that they were both Muslim groups who formed dynasties in Sind. No thought is given to the possibility that the policies of the Balūchī Tālpūrs towards the Hindus of Sind were not necessarily the same as that of the Arabs some thousand, years earlier. Unfortunately, the doubtful conclusions based on these tainted sources have been repeated by subsequent historians without questioning the basis on which they were originally formulated. And this obviously will not do.

Terminology and method. The vast majority of recent work on conversion to Islam, both in Sind and elsewhere, has not been concerned with defining terms of reference.[31] This is regrettable since the term conversion has developed in a Western, Christian context where it has been used to describe two different sets of phenomena: the change in religious allegiance of an individual or a group from one system of belief or rituals to another; the qualitative change in religious

30 Elliot's sources (1867: 478-79) are Richard Burton, Captain McMurdo, the Burnes brothers, and Captain Postans, all British officers who either visited Tālpūr or served in British-occupied Sind.

31 This is not only apparent in the works already cited concerning conversion in Sind, but also in many of the essays collected by Nehemia Levtzion as *Conversion to Islam* (1979). Levtzion himself, in his introduction to the volume, appears to have accepted Nock's definition of conversion ("the reorientation of the soul") as distinct from adhesion. For a plea for a more rigorous definition of conversion in a South Asian context see Frykenberg (1980).

experience within a belief system.[32] In this chapter, the term is being used in the first sense, although the focus is primarily on the group and not the individual. Moreover, the definition utilized here does not contain ■ component of sudden or radical change in root religious beliefs on the part of the convert or convert group, as is customary in definitions which issue from a Christian context.[33] It is quite possible, indeed likely, that the convert initially had ■ perception of Islam or of conversion to Islam at considerable odds with the literate Arab Muslim definitions of textual Islam.[34] When a type of conversion is distinguished as coerced or forced, it accords with Peter Hardy's clearly stated definition:

> The offering a man (or woman) the prospect of death, pain or imprisonment which he or she can only escape, should he or she wish to do so, by the performance of acts with a symbolic significance, acts which he or she would not otherwise perform but for the prospect thus offered [1977: 185].

Hardy's formulation has the advantage of being testable and avoiding the confounding of Arab military and religious policies.

Conversion should be contrasted with Islamization. The latter term is utilized in this chapter with reference to the movement of the system of belief or ritual of a convert or a group of converts to some form of pan-Islamic textual Islam.[35] In this sense, it is somewhat analogous, within an Islamic context, to the concept of Sanskritization, rid of its caste corollary and seen simply as the movement of the belief or ritual system of an individual or ■ group from a "little" to a "great" tradition.[36] As a result, two levels to the conversion process are posited: initial conversion, which may entail various and possibly conflicting perceptions of

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32 See the observations of Lofland and Stark (1965: 862). An excellent critical evaluation of recent work ■■ conversion is given by Max Heirich (1977), while a brief discussion and extensive bibliography can be found in Rambo (1982).

33 For example, Lang and Lang (1961: ch. 6) and Lofland and Skonovd (1981: 375). In any case, the conversion situation in Arab Sind is not directly comparable to recent Christian sects or cults, since conversion to Islam at the time was not conversion to ■ deviant perspective but to the belief system of a foreign ruling stratum. That is, it was conformative, not deviant.

34 For a persuasive argument against the assumption of radical change in conversion in an African context see Horton (1975).

35 Islamization, it should be pointed out, is not equivalent to Sunnization since it could be to ■■ alternate non-Sunnī pan-Islamic textual tradition such ■■ Twelver Shī'ism. For further discussion of the term see Imtiaz Ahmad (1975, 1976), Mines (1975), and S. C. Misra (1964: 158-60; 1973). The use of the term in this restricted sense would appear to be limited to the analysis of modern Indian Islam and points eastwards. Elsewhere, it is employed for either the initial conversion of non-Muslims or the political expansion of Muslim peoples (e.g., Anawati 1975; Chejne 1975).

36 For Sanskritization see the original formulation of Srinivas (1962) and the critical evaluation of Staal (1963). The precise equivalent of Sanskritization in North Indian Islam (although not necesarily in Sind) would probably be Ashrafization, as suggested by Imtiaz Ahmad (1966). A wide-ranging discussion of the "little" and "great" traditions within Islam can be found in Grunebaum (1955). Note, however, Eickelman's recent (1982) criticisms of the concept. By defining Islamization relative to various textual traditions available on a pan-Islamic basis, I have sought to avoid positing ■ single "great tradition" of Islam.

what is taking place; and subsequent Islamization, which does contain a conformative and qualitative dimension. In my view, these are two different sets of phenomena, and it is useful to distinguish them. The opposite process—i.e., the movement from a "great" to a "little" tradition within Sind—is termed indigenization.[37]

This simple definition of conversion allows for, but does not necessarily include, the possibility of adhesion: i.e., the adding on of another system of beliefs or rituals to an individual's or ■ group's previous system.[38] Conversion may or may not include adhesion; Islamization definitely does not. Adhesion is not syncretism, by which is meant the fusion of two or more systems of belief or ritual to form ■ new, unified, and harmonious system.[39] Syncretism has not been used here for ■ situation of religious pluralism or for the interpenetrations of two or more systems of belief or ritual, unless they resulted in a new synthesis. I have chosen to use the above terms restrictively in order to distinguish between discrete phenomena and draw sharper contrasts in the analysis.

It is easy to empathize with the difficulties facing those historians who have turned their attention to the topic of conversion in Sind. There are, after all, formidable obstacles in the way of understanding the various processes involved. As Ira Lapidus (1972: 248) has observed:

> The history of conversion to Islam, in Egypt and elsewhere, remains a surprisingly obscure subject on which Arab sources almost never comment. . . . In any case, their silence means that we can reconstruct the course of conversions only from indirect evidence.[40]

What Professor Lapidus notes of Egypt is also true of Sind: the Arabic and Persian sources are simply not concerned with the topic of conversion to Islam. Not

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37 S. C. Misra (1973) limits the term to the adoption of Indian culture by immigrant Muslim groups.

38 The distinction between conversion and adhesion originated with A. C. Nock (1933) who saw them as two dissimilar states. In the formulation proposed here, adhesion is seen ■■ ■ special type of conversion, avoiding ■ny qualitative distinctions. For an elaboration of the categories of Nock see W. C. Shepherd (1979).

39 The definition is indebted to Robertson (1972: 103-5). Also see Peel (1968: 129-30).

40 The most innovative attempt to solve the source problem has been made by Richard Bulliet (1979) who proposed using the copious prosopographical material available in the Arabic biographical dictionaries to establish ■ timetable of conversion. This he did directly for Īrān and indirectly (via a curve of Muslim names) for other regions. Unfortunately, it is not possible to apply his methodological solutions, either directly or indirectly, to the prosopographical material on Sind discussed below in chapter three. Since none of the genealogies contained in names of individuals bearing a Sind-related *nisbah* ■ctually include a name which is identifiably non-Muslim, one cannot revert the genealogy back to such individuals and assume conversion at the time. Nor is it possible to relate Bulliet's conversion curve for Īrān to Sind (as he does for other regions) by plotting the occurence of five "Muslim" names (i.e., Muḥammad, Aḥmad, 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn). This ■ due to the small data base of Sindis bearing these names (only twenty-five for the entire four centuries covered in the analysis). Hence, the presence of only one or two additional or fewer "Muslim" names would drastically distort ■ name graph.

only are there very few incidents of conversion reported, but the chronicles are primarily interested in the mechanics of the initial Thaqafite conquest of Sind and not with subsequent events, when one would expect the majority of conversions to take place. As a result, the topic must be approached in a rather circuitous manner, using what indirect data are available in the sources.

The analysis proceeds as follows. Arab policies towards the indigenes of Sind will first be considered, in order to establish the precise situation facing members of the two non-Muslim religions. Arab military and religious policies have been differentiated wherever possible, without, however, discounting the possibility of cognitive confusion on the part of the participants in these events. This chapter is concerned only with Arab policies in Sind up to the establishment of the Ismā'īlī states in the middle of the fourth/tenth century. The religious policies of the Ismā'īlīs and conversion to their perspective by other Muslims and by non-Muslims will be discussed separately in the penultimate chapter of this study.

The majority of attention will be directed to the results, both direct and indirect, of the Arab Muslim conquest and settlement, in terms of the two non-Muslim religions represented in the region. The non-Muslims of Sind were not a single *tabula rasa* on which the Arab Muslims made their indelible and unvarying imprint. There were two fundamentally different religions in Sind, each with a distinct set of beliefs and rituals, class composition, and socioeconomic basis. Members of these religions adopted dissimilar stances towards the initial Arab conquest and were affected diversely in the altered circumstances of the Arab settlement. For the understanding of the processes involved in this differential response, I have had recourse to certain concepts drawn from stress theory, especially the idea of relative deprivation, and reference group theory, in particular the distinction between normative and comparative reference groups. It is hoped that, by so doing, justice can be done to the very complicated conversion situation in Arab Sind.

Arab Policies in Sind

Military policy. While it is often thought that Arab military policy in Sind was inconsistent, at times entailing massacres and at times peaceful settlements, this is not entirely the case. The results of Arab policy were variable, it is true, but the policy itself was remarkably consistent throughout the initial conquest, at least after Daybul. The general policy is outlined in a letter of al-Ḥajjāj, the Umayyad governor of 'Irāq, which was applied throughout Sind (*bar ḥukm-i mithāl-i Ḥajjāj*):

> My ruling is given: Kill anyone belonging to the combatants (*ahl-i ḥarb*); arrest their sons and daughters for hostages and imprison them. Whoever submits . . . grant them *amān* and settle their tribute (*amwāl*) as *dhimmah* [*Chachnāmah* 1939: 219; Cf. 105, 117, 119, 132, 144, 223-24].

It is apparent that the Sindīs themselves were aware of this policy. At the time of the siege of the city of Brahmanābād, four of the leading merchants of the area met to review the situation facing them:

> If we unite and go forth to fight, we will be killed: for even if peace is [subsequently] made, those who are combatants (*ahl-i silāḥ*) will all be put to death. As for the rest of the people, *amān* is given to the merchants, artisans, and agriculturalists. It is better that we be trusted. Therefore, we should surrender the fort to him on the basis of a secure covenant (*'ahd-i wathīq*) [ibid.: 204].

That is, Sindīs, regardless of their religious affiliation, had two options available to them at the time of the Arab conquest: to submit or not to submit to Arab authority. If they submitted, they received *amān* ("protection") or an *'ahd* ("covenant");[41] if they did not submit, they were attacked and, if defeated, the combatants were liable to the death penalty and their families to imprisonment. In short, the Arab response was dependent on whether the city or region was taken by force (*'anwatan*) or by treaty (*ṣulḥ*).[42]

The Arabs' first concern was to facilitate the conquest of Sind with the least number of Arab casualties, while at the same time preserving the economic infrastructure of the area. Hence, where Sindī resistance was intensive or prolonged, the Arab response was equally intensive: a massacre lasting three days occurred at Daybul; 6,000 combatants were killed at Rāwar; somewhere between 6,000 and 26,000 at Brahmanābād; 4,000 at Iskalandah; and 6,000 at Multān.[43] All of these towns were conquered by force (*'anwatan*) with considerable Arab casualties. Conversely, a number of places were taken by treaty (*ṣulḥ*) and experienced few if any casualties, either Arab or Sindī: e.g., Armābīl, Nīrūn, Sīwistān, Budhīyah, Bēt, Sāwandī, and Arōr.[44] In both cases, however, the Arab concern with securing a financially viable Sind impelled them to exempt artisans, merchants, and agriculturalists (ibid.: 116, 184, 204-7, 219, 238).

The policy of granting *amān* was applied throughout Sind only after the massacre at Daybul. "If any of the people of Sind request *amān*, grant it," wrote al-

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41 The two terms are used synonymously in the *Chachnāmah*. Sindīs would request *amān* and receive [redacted] *'ahd* or *amān-nāmah* (1939: 119-20, 132, 225). This usage of *amān* should be distinguished from its later meaning of a safe-conduct pass given a *ḥarbī* for travel in Muslim lands. Discussion and references can be found in Schacht (1960b) and Khadduri (1955).

42 The usage of these terms in the accounts of the early Arab conquests is discussed by D. R. Hill (1971).

43 Daybul: Balādhurī 1866: 437; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 346; *Chachnāmah* 1939: 107-8; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 (1867) vol. 4: 537; Rāwar (not Arōr or al-Rūr): *Chachnāmah* 1939: 195; Brahmanābād: Balādhurī 1866: 439 gives the range from 8,000 to 26,000, while the *Chachnāmah* 1939: 207 prefers 6,000 to 16,000; Iskalandah: ibid.: 237; Multān: ibid.: 238, although Balādhurī 1866: 440 gives 6,000 as the number of prisoners taken captive and not combatants killed.

44 Armā'īl (i.e., Armābīl): Ibn Khayyāṭ 1966 vol. 1: 307; Nīrūn: Balādhurī 1866: 437-38; *Chachnāmah* 1939: 93, 116-18, 131-32; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 346; Sīwistān region: Balādhurī 1866: 438; *Chachnāmah* 1939: 120, 146; Budhīyah region: ibid.: 122-23; Bēt: ibid.: 219; Arōr (al-Rūr): ibid.: 223-28. Balādhurī 1866:439; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 346-47

Ḥajjāj to Muḥammad, "as for the people of Daybul, do not grant *amān* to any of them" (ibid.: 105). Even in this extreme case, however, Muḥammad chose to bestow *amān* on certain individuals and groups of the city.[45] Indeed, it would appear to have been his preferred mode of conquest throughout the campaign. Of the towns and tribes for which there is information, 65 percent according to the *Chachnāmah* or 63 percent according to Balādhurī were secured through *amān* or *ṣulḥ*.[46] This is a surprisingly high percentage, at some variance to accounts of the Arab conquest in other regions (ranging from 8 percent in Egypt to 36 percent in Syria).[47]

Al-Ḥajjāj, who felt that *amān* should issue from strength and not weakness, was quick to criticize Muḥammad's broad application of *amān* in two acerbic letters:

> I am appalled by your bad judgement and astounded by your policies. Why are you so intent on giving *amān*, even to an enemy whom you have tested and found hostile and intransigent? It is not necessary to give *amān* to everyone without discrimination. . . . In any case, if [the Sindīs] sincerely request *amān* and desist from treachery, they will surely stop fighting. Then income will meet expenditures and this long situation can be concluded [ibid.: 151].

In another letter, written after the conquest of Rāwar (to be distinguished from Arōr or al-Rūr), al-Ḥajjāj observed: "It is acknowledged that all your procedures have been in accordance with religious law (*bar jādah-yi shar'*) except for the one practice of giving *amān*. For you are giving *amān* to everyone without distinguishing between friend and foe" (ibid.: 197). Muḥammad's officers must have shared his preference for conquest by treaty since al-Ḥajjāj also complained, in his first letter, that "the same thing is said of your secretary and officers" (ibid.: 151).

While Muḥammad and his cousin al-Ḥajjāj may have disagreed over who should recive *amān*, they were in agreement that once given, it was binding, even if the individual had obtained it fraudulently. One such claim is said to have occurred after the conquest of Arōr when a Brahmin, a combatant, re-

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45 For example, *amān* was given to the families and dependents of Qiblah b. Mahatrā'ij (also known as Sūd-dēv). *Chachnāmah* 1939: 104-10.

46 That is, seventeen out of twenty-six reports found in the *Chachnāmah*: Nīrūn (pp. 93, 116-18, 131), Sīwistān (pp. 118-21, 145-46), Bandhān (pp. 121-23), Budhīyah (p. 123), Bhaṭlūr (p. 124), Bhattīyān (p. 132), Ishbāhar (p. 132), Bēt (pp. 133-36, 155), Qiṣṣah, Sūrtah, Sākrah (ibid.), Brahmins (pp. 208-13), Sāwandī (pp. 218-19), Jattān (p. 219), Sahtah (p. 221), Arōr (pp. 223-27), Bāṭiyah (pp. 235-36). This does not include any of the individuals who received *amān* or any of the groups who received *amān* in towns taken by force. The non-*amān* towns are Daybul, Sīsam, Rāwar, Bahrūr, Dahlīlah, Brahmanābād, Iskalandah, Sikkah, Multān. Balādhurī (1866: 436-41) notes only eight Sindī cities of which five submitted via *amān* or *ṣulḥ* and three by *'anwatan*.

47 If Hill (1971: 173-74) is correct to attribute this to the relative resistance of these regions, then Sind must have acquiesced with great celerity. There is no support here for the thesis of prolonged resistance in Sind.

ceived an *'ahd* in writing for himself, his family, and his large entourage on the basis of misrepresentation.[48] Muḥammad initially wanted to revoke the *amān*, but decided against it since "words are words and ■ contract is ■ contract" (ibid.: 228). He imprisoned the Brahmin and referred the question back to al-Ḥajjāj who, in turn, received a ruling from the *'ulama'* of Kūfah and Baṣrah to the effect that "this question has been raised previously among the Companions of the Prophet, on whom be peace [and was resolved by the Qur'ānic words]: 'Men are true to what they have covenanted with God.'"[49]

While the details of this particular incident may be spurious, it is clear that the surety and consistency of *amān* and *'ahd* were matters of considerable importance to the Arabs. The binding nature of treaties and covenants, stemming from the pre-Islamic practice of *jiwār* and enshrined in the Qur'ān, was taken very seriously for internal reasons (Mottahedeh 1980: 42-46). It certainly facilitated the conquest of Sind, forming the expressed rationale for the capitulation of groups from Sīwistān, Brahmanābād, and Arōr.[50] If the Arab treaties could be trusted, then the indigenes would clearly have less interest in resisting the conquest, especially when resistance carried with it such dire consequences.

Religious policy. Arab religious policy in Sind was enunciated initially as part of *amān*, that is, as a corollary to political submission. Before ■ definite religious policy could come into effect, the individuals and communities within Sind must first have submitted to Arab suzerainty. It was only after the greater part of Sind was conquered and Dāhir defeated that we read the details of a religious policy, primarily that elaborated at Brahmanābād and Arōr: ■ choice not between Islam and the sword, but between Islam and *jizyah*.

The Arabs brought with them to Sind a precedent for perceiving and dealing with non-Muslims in the previous assimilation of the Zoroastrians (*majūs*) into the category of *ahl al-kitāb* ("scriptuaries"), despite their apparent lack of a written scripture and the fact that they stood outside the Judeo-Christian tradition (whose members comprised the usual scriptuaries).[51] Scriptuaries, after submitting to Muslim rule, were then considered *ahl al-dhimmah* ("protected subjects") and guaranteed ■ certain amount of Muslim noninterference in religious

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48 The translator of the *Chachnāmah* has embellished the anecdote with ■ few Persian couplets (1939: 227-28).

49 The reference is to Qur'ān 33: 23: "Among the believers are men who are faithful to what they have covenanted with God."

50 Note, for example, the argument of the Buddhists of Sīwistān: "Now, if the occasion arises, we suggest that we mediate for your sake and ours, request *amān*, and return with binding treaties. For the Arabs keep their promises; every word they speak they will not break but remain faithful to" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 119; Cf. 204, 223-24).

51 For the status of the Zoroastrians see Abū 'Ubayd (1934: 31-36) and Abū Yūsuf (1969: 88-90). For the scriptuaries in general see Khadduri (1955: 176-77), Vajda (1960), Tritton (1970 [1930]).

matters in return for fulfilling a number of obligations incumbent on the status (Cahen 1965a; Lewis 1980; Fattal 1958: 71-84). Since both Hinduism and Buddhism were literate religions possessing scriptures, it was not conceptually difficult for the Arabs to extend the Zoroastrian precedent to the non-Muslims of Sind and consider them *ahl al-kitāb* and *dhimmīs*.

The general religious policy of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim is noted by Balādhurī with regard to the city of al-Rūr (Arōr):

> He conquered the city by treaty (*ṣulḥ*) with the condition that he would not kill them nor enter their temple (*budd*). And he said: "The *budd* will be considered similar to the churches of the Zoroastrians (*majūs*)." He imposed the tribute (*kharāj*) on those in al-Rūr and built a mosque [1866: 439].

That is, the problem of the status of non-Muslims of Sind was resolved by considering them as scriptuaries similar to the Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. While Balādhurī mentions this particular decision in connection with the city of al-Rūr where the religious structure in question was a Buddhist *vihāra*,[52] the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 214) applies a similarly worded ruling to the inhabitants (probably Hindu) of the region around Brahmanābād. Indeed, the frequent occurrence in the primary sources of the terms *dhimmah, dhimmī*, and *jizyah*, applied equally to both Hindus and Buddhists (ibid.: 114, 201, 208-9, 212-15, 219), indicates that the Arab perception of the indigenes as equivalent to scriptuaries for the purposes of institutional assimilation was general in Sind.

Three main issues related to the status of *dhimmah* in Sind can be isolated: the payment of the distinguishing poll-tax (*jizyah*); the construction of new and repair of old temples; and the application of special discriminatory regulations on certain groups of *dhimmīs*. In their solution of these issues, the Arabs followed precedents existing in other regions of the Muslim world, but also developed certain procedures unique to Sind.

The primary obligation of Sindī *dhimmīs* was the payment of the *jizyah*. Detailed regulations concerning this much-debated tax were outlined in the settlement at Brahmanābād:

> [Muḥammad-i Qāsim] imposed a tax (*māl*) on the rest of the subjects according to the customs (*sunan*) of the Prophet, on whom be peace. Whoever accepted Islam was exempted from slavery (*bandagī*) and the poll-tax (*māl va-gazīd*). Whoever did not submit [to Islam] had *māl* imposed in three categories: the first and largest category, from each forty-eight dirhams of silver; the intermediate category, twenty-four dirhams; the lowest category, twelve dirhams. [Muḥammad] ordered: "Go now. Those who become Muslims and accept Islam, their *māl* is exempted. Those wishing to retain their faith (*kēsh*) must pay the *gazīd* and *jizyah* to follow their ancestral religion.[53]

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52 The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 226) calls the religious structure at Arōr a *naw-bahār*.

53 Ibid.: 208-9. *Māl* here is equivalent to *kharāj* (cf. ibid.: 211), while *gazīd* is, of course, the Persian form of the Arabic *jizyah*. Friedmann (1984: 32) argues that this passage implies that Brahmins

Peter Hardy (1965: 566) has doubted the antiquity of this passage of the *Chachnāmah* on the grounds that the events in question "antedate the differentiation between *kharādj* as land-tax and *djizya* as poll-tax under the late Umayyads." However, it is no longer possible to accept the argument, advanced by Wellhausen (1927), that the distinction between the two taxes emerged in Khurāsān under the late Umayyads. Deniel Dennett (1950) and Frede Løkkegaard (1950) have shown conclusively that the two taxes were differentiated from an early period, even though their labels were initially interchangeable (also see Gibb1955; Cahen 1965b; Duri 1974). Indeed, the fact that the *Chachnāmah*, in the above passage and elsewhere (pp. 208-9, 211-13, 215; Cf. Balādhurī 1866: 438-39, 445-46), uses variable terms (e.g., *māl/amwāl, gazīd, jizyah, kharāj*) for what is obviously a poll-tax argues for the antiquity and authenticity of its account. A historian writing after the clarification of the terms would not have confounded *kharāj* (*māl/amwāl*) with *jizyah* (*gazīd*). In any case, it is clear that the tax of the above-mentioned settlement of Brahmanābād was a poll-tax and not a land-tax since it was levied on the adult working population of the city on the basis of a census.

The ratio of twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight dirhams for the *jizyah* was that of the Sasanian poll-tax, adopted by the Arabs in 'Irāq after the conquest, and later systematized by the jurists.[54] It is probable that this ratio was applied in Sind at the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest on the basis of the precedent established in 'Irāq (whose governor, al-Ḥajjāj, was the cousin of the conqueror of Sind) and is not simply the reflection of later legal developments.

The Arabs generally left the administrative apparatus in the hands of local Sindīs, probably the leaders of dominant regional castes, who acted under the supervision of a small number of Arab officers. Kākah b. Kōtak, the ruler of Budhīyah, was confirmed as the hereditary sub-governor of the region for the Arabs in a ceremony which followed the Buddhist (*samanī*) customs of his family (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 123). The head of the Lōhānah caste, Mōkah b. Basāyah, was given the administration of the regions of Bēt and Qiṣṣah; his descendants were guaranteed, in a written document provided by the Arabs, the hereditary right to the office (called *rānagī* in the *Chachnāmah*).[55] After the region of Brahmanābād was conquered, Brahmins were given official appointments in rural districts (*rūstāhā*) which confirmed their positions as hereditary

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were exempted from the *jizyah* since the *Chachnāmah* while referring to the Brahmins begins "he imposed a tax on the rest of the subjects." This is surely reading too much into the simple phrase. But even if true, it would only apply to the thousand Brahmins who delivered Lādī, the wife of Dāhir, to Muḥammad.

54 For the Sasanian poll-tax and its survival in Muslim 'Irāq see Morony (1972: 109-15). For the ratio see Abū Yūsuf (1969: 84-86) and Qudāmah b. Ja'far (1965: 43-44).

55 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 133-36. According to the Persian gloss, the office of *rānagī* (i.e., *rānaship*) was the Sindī equivalent of *amīrī* (i.e., emirate).

in perpetuity: "No one will change or alter this," Muḥammad assured them (ibid.: 210).

Similarly, the actual collection of the *jizyah* was delegated to the local administrators of the previous dynasty. The four major merchants (*'uẓẓām-i tujjār*) of the city of Brahmanābād were held responsible for the collection of the assessment in the city, under the direct supervision of the Muhallabite Wadā' b. Ḥumayd al-Azdī (ibid.: 204, 217).[56] The landed aristocracy of Sind (*dihqānān va-ra'īsān*) were given the overall accountability for the collection of the revenue assessment (*taḥṣīl-i māl*) within their areas of jurisdiction (ibid.: 209). They were aided in this task by the rural Brahmins (ibid.: 211).

There was a certain flexibility in the collection of the *jizyah*.[57] It could be remitted in cash (*nuqūd*) or kind (*'urūḍ*), although the former was generally preferred (ibid.: 128, 219-20). If there was a question concerning the amount of the assessment, it was possible for the Sindīs to bypass their compatriot middlemen and appeal directly to the Arab officers in overall control of the collection. For example, when the settlement of Brahmanābād was extended to the surrounding regions, a delegation came to the Arabs to enquire in some trepidation about both their fiscal obligations and the Brahmins appointed over the collection of the *māl*. Muhammad replied:

> Be cheerful in all things. Do not be afraid, you will not be taken to task. I do not require from you a written guarantee (*khaṭṭī va-qabālat*) [of payment]. To be sure, every share (*qismat*) which has been determined and assessed must necessarily be produced with care and diligence. But whoever has a petition [concerning the assessment], tell us; it will be heard and a reply clearly given, and the desire of each one may be granted [ibid.: 212; Cf. 219-20 for the views of al-Ḥajjāj].

Indeed, the initial assessment of twelve, twenty-four, and forty-eight dirhams at Brahmanābād was lowered uniformly to twelve dirhams per adult male on the grounds of hardship accompanying the conquest of the city (ibid.: 209). Moreover, Muḥammad made the decision to withhold 3 percent of the principal of the revenue assessment and use it for the benefit of non-Muslim religious mendicants, after being informed that this was the usual fiscal custom (ibid.: 214).[58] By adopting these procedures, the Arabs were able to impose a flexible *jizyah* on the indigenes without serious opposition.

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56 Wadā' later led a Muhallabite revolt at the city of Qandābīl in Sind (Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 2: 1410-12).

57 A number of traditions on the subject of leniency in the exaction of the *jizyah* are found in Abū Yūsuf (1969: 85-86) and Yaḥyá b.Ādam (1958: 60-61).

58 The text [illegible] it stands indicates that the beneficiaries of this 3 percent were Brahmin ascetics (*fuqarā'-yi brahmanān*), but it is possible that Buddhists are intended since the ruling was given in favour of a group who approached Muḥammad with misgivings over the prior patronage given the Brahmins of Brahmanābād (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 212-14). They were monks (*ahl-i rāhib*) from a temple (*but-khānah-yi buddah*) just outside of Brahmanābād. Since they are asking for permission to repair their temple, they may be the same Buddhists who are noted in the same locality during the reign of Chach (ibid.: 42-47) when the Buddhist abbot requested aid in repairing the local *vihāra*.

The non-Muslims of Sind were understandably concerned with what precise religious rights they were to have in exchange for the payment of *jizyah*. After the settlement at Brahmanābād was promulgated, a number of religious dignatories (probably Buddhist) approached Muḥammad and asked him to clarify for their benefit the earlier broad ruling of the *'ahd* granting religious freedom. As they outlined the problem:

> We consented to the poll-tax (*gazīd va-kharāj*) for this reason: that each person might follow his own faith. This image-house of our deity (*but-khānah-yi buddah-yi mā*) has become dilapidated and hence we are unable to worship our images (*aṣnām*). Just *amīr*, grant us permission to rebuild so that we can continue to worship our deity (*ma'būd*) [ibid.: 213].

The monks (or priests) were arguing, with some subtlety, that they would be unable to worship freely, as promised by the terms of the treaty, unless they were given permission to repair their place of worship. There is even an intimation here and elsewhere that they would welcome Arab financial aid in this project, a ploy worked earlier and successfully in the same place against the Brahmin Chach by the Buddhist abbot Buddah-Rakkū (ibid.: 42-47).

Muḥammad was uncertain what to do in this case and wrote al-Ḥajjāj for advice. The latter replied:

> The letter of my dear cousin Muḥammad-i Qāsim has been received and the situation as outlined understood. With regard to the petition of the headmen (*muqaddamān*) of Brahmanābād concerning the building of temples (*'imārat-i buddah*), since they have submitted peacefully and have adhered to their status of *dhimmah* by remitting the *amwāl* to the capital, apart from this *māl*, there can be no just claim on them. Because when they have become *dhimmī*, we have absolutely no further rights to their lives or property (*khūn va-māl*). Permission is hereby granted for them to worship their own deity (*ma'būd*). No one should be forbidden or prevented from following his own faith. They can do as they will in their own homes [ibid.: 213].

Although al-Ḥajjāj glosses over the question of rebuilding old temples, it is clear that he has accepted the general argument of the Sindīs. As long as they submitted and paid the poll-tax, their religious beliefs and practices should be of no concern to the Muslims.[59] Al-Ḥajjāj was more interested in a steady and secure cash flow than in conversion.

Having been given this general sanction, Muḥammad could and did interpret it comprehensively. Not only did he give the *dhimmīs* permission to worship their own deity and rebuild their temples, the matter of the petition, but he went further and specified that the status of *dhimmah* guaranteed them the right to patronize religious mendicants, observe their own religious festivals (*a'yād*) and

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59 The general Muslim legal position has been that *dhimmīs* could rebuild old places of worship but not construct new ones. Some authorities (especially Ḥanbalites), however, disallow the restoration of existing places of worship as well. See Arnold (1968 [1913]: 66-69) and Fattal (1958: 174-203) for a discussion.

rituals (*marāsim*), and even deduct a contribution to the priests (or monks) of 3 percent of the principal of the poll-tax (ibid.: 214). In addition, religious mendicants were given the sanction to solicit contributions from the public by going from house to house with a copper bowl (ibid.).

Certain additional discriminatory measures relating to the status of *dhimmah* are said to have been applied at the time of the conquest to two important Sindī castes: the Jat (Arabic, *zuṭṭ*, Persian, *jattān*) and the Lōhānah (encompassing the castes of Lākhah, Sammah, and possibly Sahtah [variation, Sa'tah]).[60] As the incident is related in considerable detail in the *Chachnāmah*, after the conquest of Brahmanābād and the settlement of its affairs, Muḥammad turned his attention to the special case of the Jats and Lōhānahs. He asked Siyākar (previously the vizier of Dāhir) and the Lōhānah chieftain Mōkah b. Basāyah about the treatment of these castes under the Sīlā'ij dynasty. He was informed of a variety of restrictions and obligations which had been applied to them formerly: inter alia, they could only leave their homes when accompanied by a dog, were required to wear distinguishing items (e.g., black mantles) and forbidden others (e.g., soft garments, hats, shoes), and had to perform particular services on demand (e.g., supply guides and road guards).[61] Penalties were imposed for violations of these terms and ranged from simple fines to immolation. According to his Sindī informants, these regulations and penalties had been decreed due to the savage and rebellious nature of these castes.[62] Accepting their analysis, Muḥammad is said to have ratified all the existing restrictions and obligations applied to these castes, adding a further requirement that they provide hospitality to any traveller for a day (if sick, three days), following the precedent (*sunan*) established by 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in Syria (ibid.: 215-16; 'Umar's ruling is given by Balādhurī 1866: 125).

While it was not unusual for the Arabs to affix additional discriminatory conditions to treaties with *dhimmīs* around this time (Fattal 1958: 96-112; Khad-

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60 The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 214) reads *jattān-i lōhānah*, while p. 47 reads *jattān va-lōhānah*. I have followed the latter version and considered the Jats and Lōhānahs two separate castes. On pp. 214-15 the Lōhānahs are said to have comprised the castes of Lākhah and Sammah, while p. 40 adds Sahtah to the list. Later Sindī historians are more explicit. Ma'ṣūm (1938: 27) has the measures being applied to the castes of Lōhānah, Sa'tah, Jandar, Māchī, Hālīr, and Kōrīchah, while Qānī' (1971: 38) adds the Bhātiyah to the list. Unlike the other castes, the Jats are frequently noted (as *zuṭṭ*) in the Arabic sources (e.g., Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 180; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 328; Maqdisī 1877: 484). See Ansari (1965b), Ferrand (1934), Bray (1925), and the excellent ethnography by Westphal-Hellbusch and Westphal (1968). For the Lōhānahs see Elliot (1867: 362-63), Burton (1973 [1851]: 314-17), Thadani (1948).

61 The *Chachnāmah*, p. 47, has the regulations of Chach concerning these castes, while pp. 214-16 has the earlier regulations as told to and ratified by Muḥammad. The two are generally the same, although the latter are more detailed, listing actual penalties.

62 "Among them there is neither great nor small. They possess a savage temperament, are continuously rebelling and disobedient to the ruler, and commit highway robberies" (ibid.: 215). This judgement is anticipated for some large but unnamed Sindī tribe by Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 273): "They are of an unfeeling and hasty temper, and are given to bloodshed only. . . . They have no masters, and, whether men or women, have neither rich nor poor."

duri 1955: 175-77), there are several cogent reasons for doubting that the policy as outlined in its particulars in the *Chachnāmah* was that of Muhammad b. al-Qāsim, at least towards the Lōhānahs or their sub-castes. For one thing, the Lōhānahs were generally collaborative and the caste's two main leaders, Mōkah and Rāsil b. Basāyah, were treated with considerable ceremony and honours at the time of the conquest.[63] The advice and active assistance of Mōkah in particular were crucial to the success of the conquest, and his large hereditary domain of Qiṣṣah, which he ruled for the Arabs, was one of the few regions that did not join the widespread revolt between 110/728 and 120/737.[64] It is simply inconceivable that Mōkah, a Lōhānah, would have given the description of the Lōhānahs attributed to him in the *Chachnāmah*. It is highly unlikely that Muḥammad would have called this important collaborating tribe "a reprehensible people (*makrūh khalqān*)" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 215), let alone in Mōkah's presence, and applied these humiliating restrictions against them.

Mohammad Habib has attempted to comprehend this passage by arguing that the sanctions did not apply to all the Lōhānahs but only the Lākhah and Sammah sub-groups who were, he suggests, "the most backward and savage section of the race" (1929: 601). But here too there are difficulties. Even after restrictions were framed concerning the Sammahs and Lākhahs, Muḥammad was greeted by a group from the Sammah caste (nothing more is heard of the Lākhahs) who celebrated his arrival with trumpets, drums, and dancing (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 220-21). The formidable leader of the Syrian *ashrāf*, Khuraym al-Nā'im b. 'Amr al-Murrī, uncle of a later governor of Sind, was so pleased by their acts of fidelity that he is said to have uttered *taḥmīd* and *tahlīl* in amazement.[65] There is no indication here or elsewhere that the Sammahs were particularly "savage" or "reprehensible" or that the Arabs had singled them out for additional restrictions.

Even in the case of the Jats, the evidence is not without difficulties. Before the final battle with Dāhir, four thousand of the western Jats from the region of Sīwistān joined the Arabs in the further conquest of Sind (Balādhurī 1866: 438;

63 While the two brothers are not specifically called Lōhānah, one can deduce that they were since their paternal grandfather was the famous Akham Lōhānah (see above p. 6, note 19). The honours accorded them are referred to in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 133-36, 165-66).

64 Mōkah rendered the Arabs military intelligence (ibid.: 202, 205), material assistance (p. 149), and even fought for the Arabs with his followers (pp. 172, 180, 202-3). The written deed granting Qiṣṣah and Sūrtah to Mōkah and his descendants in perpetuity is noted pp. 133-36. Both Balādhurī (1866: 444) and Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 380) single out Qiṣṣah as remaining loyal to the Arabs during the later rebellion. It is interesting to note that the two governors of Sind at this time, Tamīm b. Zayd al-Qaynī and al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah al-Kalbī, may have been personally acquainted with Mōkah since they were in the initial Thaqafite army of conquest and actually participated in some of the negotiations (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 214).

65 Khuraym b. 'Amr, an important officer in the Thaqafite army of conquest, was the uncle of the governor of Sind al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī (Kalbī 1966 vol. 1: 127, vol. 2: 265, 349).

Chachnāmah 1939: 132, 146, 155). It is highly unlikely that they would have been immediately rewarded for their assistance by degrading restrictive sanctions.

Conversely, there is good reason to believe that some restrictions were applied at some time to certain Sindī castes, especially the Jat. Balādhurī (ibid.: 445-46) notes that a later governor of Sind, 'Imrān b. Mūsá al-Barmakī (221-27/835-41), summoned the Jats and "sealed their hands, took the *jizyah* from them, and ordered each of them to appear with a dog. Hence, the price of a dog rose to fifty dirhams." It is significant that the canine clause, which is highly irregular, appears prominently here as in the *Chachnāmah*. Perhaps some form of the restrictions were promulgated at the time of the conquest, but only against the eastern Jats who had fought with Dāhir against the Arabs (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 173), and then extended at some later date to other Jat groups of Sind. The extension of these restrictive sanctions could have occurred around the time of the widespread revolt of the Jats in the marsh area of 'Irāq (ca. 219-20/834-35) and been part of a general policy of the 'Abbāsids towards the rebellious Jats (Balādhurī 1866: 373-76; Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 1167-69).

As far as the Lōhānahs and their sub-castes are concerned, either the Jat restrictions were extended by the Arabs to incorporate these castes at some time subsequent to the conquest and before the compilation of the *Chachnāmah*, or elsc they were never applied, at least by the Arabs, and are simply the elaboration of the Brahmins of Arōr who formed the main source for the indigenous material contained in the *Chachnāmah*.[66] The Lōhānahs were not only collaborators but had earlier formed the main opposition to the dynasty founded by Chach, who was himself a Brahmin from the region of Arōr and who is said to have formulated the original Lōhānah restrictions (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 41-48). Indeed, it is even possible that the Jat restrictions were attributed to the Lōhānahs by the Arōrī Brahmins on their own part because, in their view, these castes had collaborated with and hence had become polluted by the Arab *caṇḍālas* ("out-castes"), a term which occurs (as the Persian *chandālān*) in the *Chachnāmah* (ibid.: 195, 222-23) with reference to Arab-Sindī contact.

Whatever the case of the Lōhānahs, it is clear that there were restrictions imposed on certain *dhimmīs* of Sind by the Arabs at some time and, more importantly, that these were probably related to preexisting Hindu restrictions on the outcaste *caṇḍālas*, "that lowest of mortals," as Manu calls them (1964 [1886]: 407). While the association of *dhimmīs* with dogs is not otherwise noted in the Muslim tradition,[67] the association of *caṇḍālas* with dogs is commonplace in the

66 The text of the *Chachnāmah* translated into Persian by 'Alī b. Ḥāmid al-Kūfī in the year 613/1216 originated in Arōr (1939: 9-10). The insertion into *isnāds* ("transmission chains") of Brahmins (e.g., p. 234: *barāhimah-yi Arōr*, Cf. pp. 144-45, 179, 197) but not Buddhists suggests a Brahmanical rather than Buddhist source for the indigenous material.

67 The unprecedented nature of the canine clause led Elliot (1867: 448-50) to propose that the Jats were required to collect dogs and deliver them to the Arab authorities. This was done, he sug-

Hindu legal texts. As Atindranath Bose has observed: "Nothing demonstrates more sharply the social status of a *caṇḍāla* than his very frequent classification with a dog" (1961-67 vol. 2: 222; Cf. *Manu-smṛti* 1964 [1886]: 414). In this case, the Hindu caste regulations would have been imposed at some time before the early third/ninth century—if not by Muḥammad himself then by subsequent governors—as one of the distinctions peculiar to the caste's *dhimmah* status. That is, Muslim institutions served partially to legitimize and continue the caste system in Arab Sind.

While Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim had a definite policy towards the non-Muslims of Sind, it is extraordinarily difficult to trace subsequent developments. The only documented attempt at proselytization in the pre-Ismā'īlī period occurred during the caliphate of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (99-101/717-20) who wrote the princes of Sind "inviting them to Islam and submission on the condition that he would rule them just like he did the Muslims."[68] Some Sindīs, including Jaysīyah b. Dāhir and possibly his brother Ṣaṣṣah, did accept the invitation of 'Umar and became Muslims, taking Arab names in the process.

This arrangement did not last long. In 104/722, the ambitious Umayyad general, al-Junayd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Murrī, was appointed governor of Sind and almost immediately provoked a quarrel with Jaysīyah, disputing his jurisdiction over part of Sind.[69] Jaysīyah refused to submit, arguing, "I have accepted Islam and a pious man [i.e., 'Umar II] has entrusted this land to me" (Balādhurī 1866: 442). A major confrontation eventually ensued, and both Jaysīyah and later his brother Ṣaṣṣah were killed, thus bringing to an end 'Umar's attempt to encourage conversion in Sind.

Jaysīyah's reply to al-Junayd indicates that he considered conversion to Islam as having legitimized his semi-independent rule over part of Sind as a Muslim agent of the caliph, probably subject to the payment of some form of tax to the actual Arab governor appointed concurrently.[70] This is a departure from the

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gests, in order to diminish the number of Sindī dogs by slaughtering them, or else so that the Arab rulers might use the dogs for hunting or herding purposes. However, the sources do not allow the conclusion that members of these castes paid dogs for *jizyah*; they were to be accompanied by dogs. Only Friedmann (1977: 332) has recognized the regulations as a form of *ghiyār* attached to their *dhimmī* status. He suggests that the preexisting canine clause was acceptable by Muslims since dogs are unclean in both the Hindu and Muslim traditions. His analysis has been accepted here and related specifically to *caṇḍāla* caste regulations.

68 Balādhurī 1866: 441. The incident is also noted by Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 589-90, vol. 5: 54-55) and Ibn Taghrībirdī (1929-56 vol. 1: 243). Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 479) refers to an additional *da'wah* during the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) when the kings of Kābul, Bāmiyān, Tibet, Hind, and Sind were called to accept Islam.

69 Balādhurī (1866: 442) and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 590, vol. 5: 135) imply that al-Junayd unjustly provoked Jaysīyah.

70 The governor of Sind for 'Umar II during the *da'wah* was 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhilī. Consequently, Jaysīyah could not have differed with al-Junayd over accepting the latter's overall authority in Sind (since he had previously accepted that of 'Amr). The land entrusted to Jaysīyah and other princes must have been only a portion of Sind and under the general jurisdiction of the nominal Arab governor appointed by the caliph.

events of the conquest where Sindī princes such as Kākah b. Kōtak and Mōkah b. Basāyah kept their traditional perquisites and positions on an *amān* without converting (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 123, 133-36). Moreover, it is evident that the Sindī princes of the defeated family of Chach welcomed 'Umar's conversion ruling, at least initially, as a means of regaining some of their lost independence or power. It is significant that when Jaysīyah was killed, his brother Ṣaṣṣah attempted unsucessfully to flee—with the intention of complaining about the treachery of al-Junayd—to the caliph himself, and not to other Sindī rulers or to India (Balādhurī 1866: 442; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 590). That is, the argument was over which Muslims would predominate in Sind: the indigenous princes who had converted to Islam or the Arabs sent by the caliph.

Summary. Arab policies in Sind were primarily oriented towards the submission of the indigenes to Arab rule, not necessarily towards the conversion of non-Muslims to Islam. After 'Umar II, the only apparent attempt by Muslims to proselytize a large number of Sindīs occurred around the end of the Arab period under the Ismā'īlīs, a topic that will be discussed elsewhere. Until the fourth/tenth century, the Arabs showed little inclination to interfere with either of the two non-Muslim religions of Sind, as long as their adherents neither rebelled nor withheld the funds due the government.

Indeed, Arab policies in many ways served to legitimize preexisting non-Muslim institutions in Sind, especially that of the caste system. The Arabs continued the various Hindu legal restrictions on certain lower or out-castes by perceiving the customary caste laws as additional riders attached to the *dhimmah* status of these groups. The special traditional position of the Brahmin caste was confirmed in the rural regions after the conquest of Brahmanābād. The traditional perquisites of certain non-Muslim caste leaders, such as Kākah b. Kōtak of the Buddah and Mōkah b. Basāyah of the Lōhānah, were recognized by the Arabs in accordance with local customs: the former in a Buddhist ceremony and the latter in a rite bestowing on him the *chatr* (Skt., *chattra*, the regal "parasol") of local rule (*rānagī*). Certain caste positions and benefits were recognized as hereditary, and their leaders were given a written document to this effect by the Arabs. In addition, Buddhist and Hindu religious festivals, public rituals, and temples and monasteries were preserved by way of the status of *dhimmah*. Priests were provided an official stipend by the Arabs of three percent of the principal of the *jizyah*, and local religious institutions, such as the practice of monks soliciting contributions from the public, were permitted to continue.

This is not to say, however, that the policies adopted by the Arabs towards the Sindī non-Muslims were nondiscriminatory. As *dhimmīs*, Hindus and Buddhists were certainly second-class citizens, generally perceived by Muslims as following inferior religions. While non-Muslims were free, within limits, to worship as they wished, Muslims were equally free to contemn their worship. In the construction of the Arab period mosque at Daybul, Śaivite *liṅgas* were in-

corporated into the bottom steps of all three portals (Ashfaque 1969: 198-99), a definite indication of an institutional contempt of Śaivism. Clearly, Hindus and Buddhists were disciminated against, albeit not necessarily for the purposes of conversion. Moreover, regardless of what Arab policy may have been, some non-Muslims may have perceived conversion as a means of escaping the violence surrounding the initial conquest of certain areas of Sind. This is particularly true of combatants who could generally receive *amān* only before the actual battle ensued. Thereafter, if they wished to escape death or enslavement, conversion was one option and, indeed, we hear of a single instance where a group of soldiers are said to have converted in the middle of the final battle between the Arabs and Dāhir (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 177). This surprising conversion was unsolicited but accepted.

Generally speaking, however, the policy of both the conquest and the settlement focussed on the submission of the Sindīs and not their conversion. As a result, it is necessary to reject, by and large, the simple model of coerced conversion normally adopted for Sind. What conversion took place cannot be solely, or even primarily, attributed to the overt pressures of a militant conversionist Islam. Conversely, it cannot be said that conversion took place due to the attractions of a posited principle of equality in Islam. As noted, Arab policies generally confirmed the local restrictive traditions concerning the lower castes and maintained the privileges of the upper castes. Up to the Ismā'īlī period, there is no indication that the Arabs engaged in active proselytization of any kind, either coercive or peaceful. Other, more subtle, factors were at work.

Hindu and Buddhist Response

There are clear discrepancies between the Buddhists and the Hindus of Sind both in their immediate response to the Arab invasion and in the long term effect which the occupation and settlement had on them. That is, Buddhists tended to collaborate to a significantly greater extent and at an earlier date than did Hindus and, more importantly, Buddhism disappeared completely as a viable religious system during the Arab period while Hindusim has continued to survive, in varying conditions of prosperity, until the present day.

Collaboration and resistance. The issue of Buddhist collaboration initially arose in those secondary sources concerned with assigning the onus for the fall of Sind (e.g., Vaidya 1921-26 vol. 1: 173-74; Qureshi 1962: 37-39). It was concluded that Sind was lost to the Arabs due to the treasonous action of the Sindī Buddhists acting as fifth columnists. This theory has been challenged, however, by Dhar (1940) and Friedmann (1977) who have argued that both Buddhists and Hindus collaborated, and hence it is incomplete and unwarranted to single out the former for censure. Thus, the data must be reexamined to see if it contains evidence of collaboration differentials. It should be noted that by collaboration I mean the active and willing assistance given an invading or occupying

enemy force, and not simply acquiescence to that force. I am not concerned here with the further topic of whether or not collaboration was responsible in any way for the military collapse of Sind.

Where the primary sources refer to religious affiliation, Buddhist communities (as opposed to individuals) are mentioned without exception in terms of collaboration.[71] Conversely, Hindu communities rarely collaborated until after the conquest of Brahmanābād, and even then only sparingly.[72] In the case of Sīwistān, a town where the population was divided between Buddhists and Hindus, the former collaborated even before the fort was taken while the Hindu governor and troops formed the primary resistance to the Arabs.[73] The prospographical evidence is just as unequivocal: nine of the ten Buddhists referred to by name in the primary sources were collaborators.[74] The sole exception, Bhandavīr Samanī, who is referred to only once in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 153-54) as the vizier of Dāhir, is either a mistake for the Hindu Siyākar (the usual name for Dāhir's vizier [ibid.: 137-38, 167-69, 199-200]) or else, more likely, a scribal error for Bhandarkū (or Bhandarkan) Samanī, the collaborating Buddhist governor of the city of Nīrūn (ibid.: 117, 131-32). If this is the case, then every Buddhist named in the sources was a collaborator. On the other hand, while the names of numerous Hindus have been preserved, only one individual definitely collaborated before the death of Dāhir.[75] Seven of the nine or ten named Buddhists collaborated during this same period.[76] The crucial point is not that some Hindus collaborated, but that there is not one example in the sources of an individual Buddhist (with the possible exception of Bhandavīr) or a group of Buddhists who did not collaborate.

Furthermore, Buddhists generally collaborated early on in the campaign before the major conquest of Sind had been achieved and even before the conquest of towns in which they were resident and which were held by strong garrisons. The Nīrūnī Buddhists actually had sent envoys to al-Ḥajjāj requesting a separate peace before the Thaqafite forces had even been dispatched to Sind (ibid.: 93; Balādhurī 1866: 473-38). It is not quite accurate to conclude, as does

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71 That is, Nīrūn, Sīwistān, Budhīyah, Bēt, Sākrah. See Balādhurī (1866: 437-38) and *Chachnāmah* (1939: 93, 116-24, 131-35).

72 The first recorded instance of a group of Brahmins collaborating occurred after the fall of Brahmanābād (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 204-18). Even then, the cities of Upper Sind (e.g., Multān, Sikkah, Iskalandah) had to be taken by force with considerable casualties (ibid.: 235-40).

73 Ibid.: 118-21, 123-24; Balādhurī 1866: 438. The ruler of Sīwistān was Bajhrā, a cousin of Dāhir. The defence was undertaken by troops from the Takkar and Rāwat castes.

74 That is, Bhandarkū (or Bhandarkan) Samanī, governor of Nīrūn (ibid.: 117, 131-32); Sundur Samanī, an earlier governor of Nīrūn (p. 93); Muqdanyah Samanī, a later governor of Nīrūn (p. 155); Kākah b. Kōtak Bhikkū (pp. 120-23); Mōkah b. Basāyah (pp. 133-35, 144, 149, 155-57); Rāsil b. Basāyah (pp. 156-57, 164-66); Bavād Samanī (p. 219); Budīhī Baman Dhōl (p. 219); and Sarbīdas (Balādhurī 1866: 438). Sarbīdas may be the unnamed Samanī *muqaddam* noted in the *Chachnāmah*, pp. 118-20.

75 Qiblah b. Mahatrā'ij, also called Sūd-dēv, the Brahmin of Daybul (ibid.: 108-10).

76 All but Bavād Samanī and Budīhī Baman Dhōl of note 74.

Friedmann (1977: 326-27), that Buddhist collaboration was simply opportunistic, guided by "the desire to be on the winning side." The great majority of cases of Buddhist collaboration (e.g., Nīrūn, Bēt, Sākrah, Sīwistān, Budhīyah) took place before there was any indication that the Arab side would be "the winning side": the Arabs had only conquered portions of the Indus Delta, Dāhir and his large army were still intact, and the major and most productive part of Sind remained to be taken. Buddhists went out of their way to aid the Arabs in conditions of considerable personal jeopardy. The Sīwistānī Buddhists, for example, not only went over to the Arabs before their town had been conquered, but they were later put in some peril when the loyalist forces of Chand Rām Hālah retook the town (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 118-20, 145-46). The Buddhists opted again for the Arabs, closing the gates of the city against Chand Rām during the ensuing battle.

Conversely, those Hindus who did collaborate (e.g., Kaksah b. Chandar, Siyākar, and the Brahmins of Brahmanābād) tended to do so only after Dāhir had been killed and his army defeated.[77] Even after Dāhir's death, however, the Hindus of Upper Sind (where there were few if any Buddhists) did not submit easily. The fighting at Multān, the last major city to be taken by the Arabs, may well have been the most sev re and protracted of the entire campaign (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 236-38; Balā hurī 1866: 439-40). The main military resistance against the Arabs, both dur ıg and after the conquest, was conducted by individuals who were Hindu.[78] There are no instances of resistance undertaken at any time by individuals or gı ups identifiably Buddhist.

To be sure, Buddhists were not the only collaborators in Sind, nor were all Buddhists necessarily collaborators (although, with one possible exception, all those named in the primary sources were). Some Hindus may have collaborated, some cooperated, and some resisted. Nevertheless, in general, there is a clear distinction between Hindu and Buddhist reactions to the Arab invasion. Buddhists tended to collaborate at an earlier date and more completely than did Hindus.

Extinction and survival. One can infer that Buddhism ceased to exist in Sind since the *sumanīyah* (or *samanīs*) who figure so prominently in the accounts of the conquest, do not thereafter, despite the numerous Muslim travellers (e.g., Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥawqal, Mas'ūdī, Maqdisī) passing through the region. There is not a single Arabic or Persian reference to Buddhists actually in Sind subsequent to the initial Thaqafite conquest. Even such an astute scholar as Bīrūnī (1964

77 For example, Siyākar defected after the dealth of Dāhir (ibid.: 199-200), the Brahmins of Lower Sind after the fall of Brahmanābād (pp. 208-18), and Kaksah b. Chandar after the fall of Bāṭīyah in Upper Sind (pp. 235-36).

78 After the collapse of Lower Sind, the resistance was led by the Brahmins Qawfī b. Dāhir (ibid., 221) and Kursīyah b. Chandar and the Takkar Bachhrā (pp. 237-38). Jaysīyah himself went to India where he attempted to obtain aid against the Arabs (pp. 228-33).

[1910] vol. 1: 249), who actually visited Sind, was unable to locate any Buddhist informants for his encyclopaedia on Indian religions ("I have never found a Buddhistic book and never knew a Buddhist from whom I might have learned their theories") and hence had to rely on Hindu and earlier Muslim sources for his information. Moreover, none of the surviving Buddhist structures in Sind were built after the Muslim conquest or, with the exception of the stūpa at Mirpur Khas (where Arab coins of undetermined date have been found),[79] can they be dated with confidence, by way of artifacts and debris, as inhabited beyond the second/eighth century. In consequence, it is reasonable to conclude that Buddhism died out in Sind during the course of Arab rule; indeed, the absence of Arab-period artifacts in Buddhist sites suggests a relatively early date for its institutional deterioration and demise.

Hinduism, on the other hand, never disappeared in Sind. Excluding the region of Multān (which after the Arab period was no longer part of Sind), probably around half of the population of Sind was Hindu at the time of the Arab conquest. In 1911, exactly twelve hundred years after Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim had conquered the city of Daybul (93/711), about a quarter of the population of the British province of Sind remained Hindu, ranging from a low of 10.1 percent in the Upper Sind Frontier District to a high of 44.8 percent in the Thar-Parkar District.[80] During this long span of Muslim settlement, Hinduism had lost only half of its adherents. Moreover, later Muslim authors visiting or writing of Sind frequently refer to the Hindus of the region. While he was unable to find a single Buddhist informant, Bīrūnī refers repeatedly to Sindī Hindus (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 116-17, 121, 173, 240, vol. 2: 15, 104, 145, 184). The geographer Maqdisī, who visited Sind shortly before 375/985, refers to the flourishing condition of the Hindu temples of the region and the wealth brought them by the actions of certain women (the reference is clearly to *deva-dāsīs*) received as religious endowments (*awqāf*) by the temples (1877: 483).

Not only did Hinduism survive as a religion during the Arab period, but it contained enough vitality to attract Muslims as well. Maqdisī (ibid.) encountered a Muslim who had converted to Hinduism in Sind and had only returned to Islam when he had departed Sind for Nīshāpūr. While Maqdisī gives only the one incident, he does indicate that the Hindu temples of Sind were a major source of temptation (*fitnah*) to the Muslim community. This strongly suggests that Hinduism was alive—indeed, flourishing—in Sind as late as the last half of the fourth/tenth century.

While Hinduism continued to function during the Arab period and Buddhism disappeared, it does not necessarily follow that Buddhists converted en masse to

79 Cousens 1925: 87, 93. Unfortunately, Cousens does not indicate the dates, names, or legends of the thirty-six coins.

80 Computed by adding up the numbers of tables VI in the B volumes of the *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind* (1907-26).

Islam. There are at least two other options: they emigrated from Sind to other parts of South Asia where Buddhism was thriving or they became Hindus. These three possibilities are not mutually exclusive: it could be that some Buddhists emigrated, some were absorbed into Hinduism, and some were converted to Islam. All three processes are observable to different degrees.

A number of Buddhist monks from Sind definitely emigrated to other parts of Buddhist South Asia. There are occasional references in the source material to Sindī Buddhists living in Bengal and Bihar during the reign of the Pālas, a dynasty that actively patronized Buddhism. A late Tibetan historian, Tāranātha (1970: 294; 1914: 93), records an earlier tradition that Sindī Buddhist monks joined with a group of Sinhalese in order to destroy certain Tantric images and scriptures at Bodh Gaya during the reign of the Pāla king Dharmapāla (ca. 770-810 A.D.). The historicity of this account is supported by the appearance in inscriptions of the Pāla period of the names of two Sindī Buddhists, Pūrnadāsa and Dharma-bhīma (Mitra 1954: 34; Chaudhury 1969: 192-93). However, the Sindīs of Tāranātha's report did not find a safe refuge in eastern India since their aggressive attempts to convert the local Mahāyānists to their own Hīnayāna perspective resulted in the execution of many of them (Tāranātha 1970: 279).

There were also Buddhist monks from Sind in regions of Gujarat ruled by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty. Two inscriptions of the Gurjara Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Dantivarman I and Dhruva II, dated Śaka 789 (A.D. 857) and Śaka 806 (A.D. 884), record the grant of a number of villages near Surat for the maintenance of Buddhist monks from Sind (Altekar 1933-34; D. R. Bhandarkar 1900-1901).

While some Buddhist monks definitely emigrated from Sind to India during the Arab occupation, it is extremely unlikely that any large-scale diaspora of Buddhists other than monks occurred. Buddhists probably formed the simple majority of the population of Lower Sind. If there had been a mass exodus of these people, then surely the sources would contain some reference to it. Emigration alone cannot account for the disappearance of millions of Sindī Buddhists.

Secondly, it is possible that Buddhism disappeared in the Sind as Buddhists became Hindus. This is the usual explanation for the later decline and evanescence of Buddhism in other parts of India, dating from the twelfth century A.D.[81] In brief, it is postulated that Indian Buddhists gradually became Hinduized through the adoption of Mahāyāna and Tantric positions, which are thought to have varied little from Hindu perspectives. This then paved the way for Buddhism to be gradually assimilated into and accommodated by an over-arching and inclusive Hinduism, resulting eventually in the total absorption and extinction of

81 The assimilation theory is summarized in Joshi (1967: 379-418) and Mitra (1954: 149-64). While this is the generally accepted view, Warder (1980: 506-21) has argued that Indian Buddhism was actually prospering until the fourteenth century and expired not from assimilation but from Muslim intolerance attendant on the Turkish conquests.

Buddhism in India. Whatever the virtues of the theory for the situation occurring in greater India from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries A.D. (and there are difficulties),[82] the arguments do not transfer well to Arab Sind.

As noted in the previous chapter, the Buddhists of Sind belonged to the Sammitīya school of the Hīnayāna. They were not Mahāyānists or Tantrayānists either at the time of the conquest or subsequently. The Sindī monks agitating in Bihar were Hīnayānists like the Sinhalese (Tāranātha 1970: 279; 1914: 93), while the Sindī Buddhist community supported in Gujarat by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas was Sammitīya (Sankalia 1941: 233). Moreover, all the available evidence points towards an energetic abhorrence of this type of Hinduized Buddhism on the part of the Sindīs. The monks from Sind who were proselytizing for the Hīnayāna in Bihar actually burnt the Tantric scriptures in the Vajrāsana monastery and destroyed the silver image of Hevajra (Tāranātha 1970: 279). Hence, if Sindī Buddhism was becoming assimilated to Hinduism, it could not have been through the adoption of Mahāyāna or Tantric tenets and practices.

Nor should the existence of the populist Sammitīya in Sind be taken as evidence in itself for the Hinduization of Sindī Buddhism (e.g., as evidenced by the idea of *puggala*) necessarily leading to its absorption in Hinduism. The Sammitīya school was still in existence in other parts of India when the historian Tāranātha (ibid.: 342) was writing in the sixteenth century A.D. It was only in Sind that the Sammitīya had disappeared by the tenth century A.D.

Hence, it is unlikely that the Buddhists of Sind became Hindu due to the Hinduization of the belief system. But this is not to say that Buddhists did not convert to Hinduism. While there is no direct evidence of Buddhists becoming Hindu in Sind, some, perhaps even a large number, probably did. It can be suggested, on theoretical grounds which will become apparent later, that if Buddhists were absorbed into Hinduism, it was primarily at the rural level where the pressures of accomodation would have been greater than at the urban level which was surely Islamic in its orientation.

The third possibility is that Buddhists tended to convert to Islam. The major evidence for this proposition is demographic. In terms of relative numbers of religious adherents, Sind was divided into two general areas at the time of the Arab conquest: Buddhists were represented primarily in Lower Sind while Upper Sind was almost entirely Hindu. There are some indications that during the Arab period the people of Lower Sind were converted to Islam and Islamized at a more rapid rate and to a greater degree than those of Upper Sind. For one thing, all later Muslim Sind-related local *nisbahs* refer to Lower Sind or Ṭūrān (i.e., Manṣūrī, Daybulī, Quṣdārī); not one *nisbah* for Upper Sind,

82 For example, Buddhists could have converted to Islam during the Delhi Sultanate period rather than been absorbed into Hinduism. After all, the primary Muslim regions of the Indian subcontinent are precisely those areas which had a substantial Buddhist population before the conquest (Sind, Bengal, Bihar).

not even Multānī, occurs during the Arab period (see below chapter three for prosopographical details). Furthermore, while Arabic sources refer to thirteen towns or cities of Sind possessing mosques, only one of these (at Multān) is in Upper Sind, compared with nine in Lower Sind, two in Mukrān, and one in Ṭūrān (the Budhīyah of the conquest).[83] Under the reasonable assumption that the presence of mosques reflects Islamization, one can conclude that Lower Sind was Islamized to a significantly greater extent than was Upper Sind. And, of course, Islamization implies prior conversion.

Moreover, specific towns (all in Lower Sind), known to have been predominantly Buddhist at the time of the Arab conquest, were definitely Muslim by the fourth/tenth century. The town of Sāwandī (variation, Sāwandarī), a major Buddhist centre with an important monastery (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 42-47, 218-19), was Muslim by the time of the historian Balādhurī (d. 279/892)—or his source Madā'inī (d. 225/839)—who could confidently assert, "the people of Sāwandarī are today Muslim" (1866: 439). Arōr, the site of a Buddhist monastery, and Nīrūn, whose Buddhist governors and inhabitants actively aided the Arabs, were both Muslim when al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990) wrote his *Kitāb al-'Azīzī* (cited in Abū al-Fidā' 1840: 347-48).

In the case of the predominantly Buddhist city of Nīrūn, there exists an intriguing early report recorded by the eminent traditionist Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869) to the effect that five Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) of the Prophet Muḥammad actually travelled to this city in the pre-conquest period and converted many of its inhabitants.[84] Three of these Companions are even said to have died and been buried in Nīrūn. While undoubtedly fabricated (and hence unacceptable as evidence for the condition of Islam in pre-conquest Sind), it is important for what it reveals concerning Buddhism and Islam in Sind in the century following the conquest. It would seem to indicate that the previously Buddhist inhabitants of Nīrūn had converted and Islamized to the extent that there was a perceived need to establish their precedence in Islamic Sind as the initial indigenous converts of the region. That is, Bukhārī's report supports the theory of an early conversion and Islamization date for certain groups of Sindī Buddhists.

The incident also suggests the process whereby these special claims were being made by the Buddhist converts to Islam. The unique pre-conquest collaborationist status of Buddhist Nīrūn was legitimized at a later date in Islamic terms

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83 That is, Multān in Upper Sind (Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 3: 457); Fannazbūr (or Bannajbūr) and Tīz in Mukrān (Maqdisī 1877: 478); Quṣdār (or Quzdār) in Ṭūrān (Yāqūt vol. 4: 86-87); Qāmuhul, Sīwistān, Arōr, Bulrī, Qallarī, Narī, Daybul, Nīrūn, Manṣūrah (Maqdisī: 479; Yāqūt vol. 4: 21, 663; *Ḥudūd* 1970: 89; Ibn Baṭṭūṭah 1958-71 vol. 3: 598; Balādhurī 1866: 437; *Chachnāmah* 1939: 118, 131). According to Cousens (1925: 50, and plates 8-9), four mosques were uncovered at the site of Manṣūrah during preliminary excavations.

84 Bukhārī, *Majmū'at al-kalimāt wa-al-rasā'il*, p. 290. Arabic text given by Mubārakpūrī (1968: 27). I have been unable to obtain the original.

by Nīrūni non-Arab Muslims (Arab settlers would have no need to make such claims) as a case of conversion precedence. The claims are given added potency through attributing the conversion to the primary agency, exterior to Sind, of the Companions of the Prophet.[85] That is, the claim is not only for precedence but for a qualitatively superior conversion (i.e., Islamization).

Religion and class. At this juncture, it is necessary to return to the previously mentioned evidence of Buddhist collaboration. While the indisputable fact of collaboration does not in itself indicate either conversion or a preference for the religious tenets of Islam, it does reveal certain socioeconomic features of Sindī Buddhism, especially its class composition. In practically every situation where Buddhists are referred to in the sources on the Arab conquest, they are mentioned either in a list with merchants and artisans or in connection with commerce. This cannot be merely coincidental.

When the Arabs beseiged the fort of Mawj in the region of Sīwistān, its Buddhist inhabitants advised the Hindu governor Bajhrā b. Chandar to submit to the Arabs since "we are afraid that this group will come and, thinking we are your followers, take our lives and wealth (*māl*)" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 119). The concern of the Buddhists with retaining their possessions was so important a consideration that when Bajhrā rejected their offer to intercede with the Arabs, they again reproached him: "It is not proper that through your unwillingness to submit, our lives and wealth should be endangered" (ibid.). When Bajhrā proved obdurate, the Buddhists decided to secure a separate peace with the Arabs. Their expressed aim of retaining their capital intact proved well-founded. After the Arabs had taken the fort, Muḥammad entered the city and

> . . . wherever it was found, he confiscated the gold and ingots and removed all silver, ornaments, and specie, except from the Buddhists (*samanīyān*) with whom he had contracted a firm treaty (*'ahd-i wathīq*) [ibid.: 120].

It is apparent from the above passage that the Buddhists of this region must have possessed a considerable quantity of capital in gold, silver, and specie which they understandably wanted to safeguard. It is not clear from the text whether the capital referred to was monastic, individual, or both.

The mercantile orientation of the Buddhists of Sīwistān is also evidenced in a later section of the *Chachnāmah* where, after an ephemeral anti-Arab revolt by Brahmin loyalists was put down, the Arabs were welcomed by a group of "Buddhists, merchants (*tujjār*), and artisans (*ṣunnā'*)" (ibid.: 146). Since the revolt was not of their making, Muḥammad approved the giving of *amān* a second time to the Buddhists and important merchants (*samanīyān va-tujjār-i ma'ārif*) of the area.

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85 For similar, although later, claims of conversion precedence in Malabar see Friedmann (1975).

At Arōr, the mercantile and artisanal classes who are said to have renounced allegiance to the Brahmins (*pas mardān-i tujjār va-ṣunnā' va-muḥtarifah paygh-ām dādand kih az bay'at-i barāhimah murāja'at namūdīm*) were probably Buddhist since, after they opened the city to the Arabs, they retired to the temple at the local Buddhist monastery (*but-khānah-yi naw-bahār*) to worship (ibid.: 224, 226). At Sāwandī, in the vicinity of Brahmanābād, "the people of that region were all Buddhist image-worshippers and merchants" (ibid.: 219). This area, centred on a Buddhist monastery, had been previously under the influence of Buddah-Rakkū, the abbot at the time of Chach. This prominent Buddhist monk had in his possession "wealth, chattels, and estates" which he believed were threatened by the ascendancy of the Brahmin Chach (ibid.: 42). While the reference may be to personal possessions, it is more likely (since he was the abbot of the *nava-vihāra*) that monastic capital and estates were involved. The use of the term *zirā'at-i buddah* ("irrigated fields of the temple") by Buddah-Rakkū in another passage (ibid.: 45-46) suggests that there were agricultural lands attached to the monastery. Since the monastic complex was located on the outskirts of the city of Brahmanābād, it is probable that the surplus produce was sold in that city.

The mercantile interests and perspectives of the Buddhist inhabitants of the Indus Delta city of Nīrūn (where collaboration was later perceived as conversion) are evidenced by the fact that after their prior *amān* had been confirmed, they opened the gates of the city and immediately "bought and sold (*kharīd va-firūkht*) with the soldiers" (ibid.: 117; Cf., p. 131 where the terms are *bay' va-shirā'*). Certain Buddhists from this city later aided the Arabs in purchasing supplies: Bhandarkan (or Bhandarkū) Samanī while at Nīrūn (ibid.: 117-18) and Muqdanyah Samanī at a somewhat later date (ibid.: 155). The Nīrūnī Buddhists must have had a substantial knowledge of and concern for commerce in order to perform these duties.

The Nīrūnīs were not the only Sindī Buddhists using their financial expertise for the Arab benefit. When the Thaqafite army was experiencing severe shortages, another Buddhist, Mōkah b. Basāyah, intervened and imported the necessary supplies, working in cooperation with the major merchants of the Indus Delta (ibid.: 148-49). Kākah b. Kōtak, not only a Buddhist but a monk as well (*samanī bhikkū*), used the opportunity provided by the invasion to obtain for himself and his Arab allies a considerable amount of cash (*nuqūd*) and materials (ibid.: 123; Cf. 170). Like Mōkah, he is said to have been actively engaged in provisioning the Arab army.

Further verification of the mercantile orientation of the Buddhist community of Sind can be found through an analysis of the location and contents of the Buddhist structures in Sind. It has long been recognized that the Buddhist monasteries of Central Asia and China were located along trade routes and provided capital loans and facilities for merchants, particularly those involved in inter-regional commerce (Lattimore 1951; Yang 1950; Twitchett 1957; Ch'en 1964, 1975).

D. D. Kosambi (1962: 100-14; 1969: 182-87) has suggested that the Buddhist monasteries of the Deccan fulfilled a similar function in the Indian subcontinent. The available evidence suggests that the argument can be extended to Sind.

One important trade route proceeded from the Indus Delta, either directly across the Thar Desert or via Arōr and across the Rajputana Desert, to Mathūra where it joined up with the main Indian trade route down the Ganges. This route through the desert to and from Sind features prominently in Buddhist sources which note large caravans of five hundred wagons plying along it (Bose 1961-67 vol. 2: 43-44; Law 1973: 8, 58). At the presumed terminus of this route, on the Sindī side of the desert, lay the extensive Buddhist monastic complex at Mirpur Khas (Cousens 1925: 82-97). Judging from the ruins, and despite its isolation, it was once a thriving and wealthy monastery, a situation which can best be understood from its location on an important trade route.

Similarly, two Buddhist monasteries have been uncovered along the old caravan route from the Indus Valley through the Bolan Pass and on into what is now Afghanistan. At the stūpa and monastery of Tor-Dherai, situated midway along this route, a large number of potsherds written in Brahmi and Kharosthi script have been found, recording the dedication of a *prapa* (a place for the supply of travellers) "to the Saṅgha of the four quarters" (Konow 1929: 97; Cf. M.A. Stein 1929: 64-70). According to Konow (ibid.: 95), the language of the inscription indicates that its speakers must have come from Sind. Presumably, this isolated Buddhist centre served as a supply depot and rest stop for Sindī merchants and other travellers utilizing the Bolan Pass trade route. At the time of the Arab conquest, this region was ruled by the Kākah family of Buddhist monks (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 39, 120-23).

To judge from the monastic remains, however, the vast majority of Buddhist centres in Sind were located in the Indus Delta and along the main trade route up the valley of the Indus (see above pp. 6-7). These are the same areas where Buddhists, merchants, and artisans are referred to in the Muslim sources. At Arōr, the site of a Buddhist *vihāra*, the Indus trade route trifurcated, one branch going west through Budhīyah to the Bolan Pass, another north along the river to Gandhara, and a third across the desert to Mathura. Buddhist sources have noted this town as Roruka or Roruva and referred to its extensive commerce.[86] The Buddhist centre of Nīrūn, whose inhabitants were so concerned with Arab trade, was also located along three trade routes: the main route north from Daybul and up the Indus, the route connecting Brahmanābād and Sīwistān, and the route across the desert (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 172, 175; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 319, 323). Sīwistān, where the Buddhists successfully preserved their financial resources via a separate *amān*, was a commercial centre on the trade route which

86 See Law (1973: 56-58), Dey (1971 [1927]: 170), and Bose (1961-67 vol. 2: 42-43) for discussion and references. Eggermont (1975: 148-66), however, prefers to locate Roruka in the Las Bela region of Eastern Mukrān.

proceeded north along the west side of the Indus (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 172, 175, 179; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 319, 327). The monasteries continued as a chain up the Indus, via Sue Vihar, linking the concentration of Buddhist sites in Sind with those in the Gandhara region and, via the Khyber Pass, to Balkh.[87]

The discovery of coin hoards in the ruins of Buddhist monasteries in Sind is further evidence of monastic involvement in mercantile enterprises. These hoards have been uncovered at Mirpur Khas, Depar Ghangro, Qasim Kirio, Mohenjo-daro, Jhukar, and Sudheranjo-daro (Cousens 1925: 60, 87, 93; N. G. Majumdar 1934: 5-18, 23; Marshall 1931 vol. 1: 127-30; "Mari Sabar" 1964: 10; D. R. Bhandarkar 1914-15: 94). At Mirpur Khas, in addition to the coins, Cousens uncovered an elaborate painted statue slab of an individual resting his left hand on a purse suspended from his belt (1925: 95 and fig. 14) and two medallions each bearing an image of a man holding a money bag in his right hand (ibid.: 89 and plate 25). They may well represent, as Cousens suggests, wealthy patrons of the monastery. In the Buddhist compound at Depar Ghangro, the Sāwandī (or Sāwandarī) of the Muslim historians, a number of lapidaries' houses have been located (ibid.: 54 and plate 13), evincing the importance of this industry to the monastery. The semiprecious stones—carnelian, chalcedony, amethystine quartz, haematite, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, onyx—which are not native to Sind must have been imported unfinished (since they are found in different stages of refinement) and then cut, polished, and drilled by the Buddhist artisans of Depar Ghangro.

While the situation of Buddhism is fairly unambiguous, it is much more difficult to isolate a particular class composition associated with Sindī Hinduism. While merchants and artisans are occasionally mentioned without any indication of religious affiliation,[88] they are never cited in connection with or in a list of individuals or groups identifiably Hindu. This negative literary evidence suggests that Hinduism, unlike Buddhism, was not strongly dependent on the mercantile sector for its support. Although the sources are largely silent on rural Sind, there is some evidence to suggest that the primary support for the Brahmin dynasty came from this sector. Chach b. Sīlā'ij had his original power base in a temple situated in the rural hinterland (*mazārī'*) around Arōr (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 17). Indeed, Chach's brother Chandar was reluctant to leave the countryside to take up an administrative position in the city, as requested by his brother (ibid.: 30). At the time of the conquest, Muḥammad confirmed the appointment of rural Brahmins as revenue collectors and officers, following the testimony of Sindīs that such an arrangement had been customary in the previous administration (ibid.: 210-11). Consonant with their rural origins, the Brahmin rulers displayed a certain amount of antagonism and contempt towards inter-regional commerce.

87 For the continuation of the route see Foucher (1942-47).

88 For example, the *Chachnāmah* does not give the religious affiliation of the four great merchants of Brahmanābād who aided the Arabs in the conquest of the city (1939: 204-5).

Afer the Arabs had conquered the port of Daybul, Dāhir replied with derision that it was unimportant since the city was "merely the residence of merchants (*tujjār*) and artisans (*ṣunnā'*)" (ibid.: 112).

The negative archaeological evidence also intimates the rural foundations of Sindī Hinduism. When Hiuen Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 272-81) visited Sind not long before the Arab conquest, he came across some 273 Hindu temples in the region. However, while the remains of Buddhist structures are relatively plentiful in Sind, only one Hindu temple of the period (at Daybul) has so far been uncovered.[89] The logical inference is that the Hindu temples mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim were, for the most part, built of perishable materials. Thus, in sharp contrast to the large, capital intensive Buddhist stūpas and monasteries which have survived, the Hindu temples were probably, in the main, village temples (like that of the family of Chach) built of unstable and low quality materials.

I am not arguing here that all Buddhists were merchants and artisans or vice versa. There were surely Hindu merchants and rural, non-mercantile Buddhists as well. Nevertheless, the primary Arabic and Persian sources along with the archaeological material indicate a clear differential between the class basis of the two major religions of Sind. Buddhism, unlike Hinduism, tended in Sind to be vitally associated with the mercantile sector of the economy.

Inter-regional trade. There are two further points to make before turning our attention back to the issues of collaboration and conversion. First, it is apparent that the trade of importance to mercantile Buddhism was inter-regional trade, based on Sind's advantageous geographic position straddling several important trade routes. Second, there are indications that the volume and importance of inter-regional commerce to the Sindī economy had declined in the period just before the Arab conquest. Both of these points have important implications.

In terms of volume and value of goods passing in transit through Sind in the pre-conquest period, the crucial routes were those connecting Central Asia and China with the West.[90] It was Sind's position as an entrepot midway between these areas which gave the main impetus to the transfer trade. This East-West trade was of considerable antiquity. Agatharchides (ca. 110 B.C.) writes of merchants coming to the Fortunate Islands (Socotra) from Persia (Fārs), Carmania

89 See *Banbhōr* (1971: 12-13) for the Śaivite temple at Daybul. The small Hindu shrine at Hiṅglāj has not yet been studied or dated, while the site of the famous (and presumably substantial) sun-temple at Multān has not been located.

90 For specific discussion of the data on Sind see B. N. Mukherjee (1970 appendix 3: "The Lower Indus Country and the Beginning of the Indo-Roman Commerce"). There is a vast secondary literature on the transit trade of the classical period. The global trade in spice and silk is discussed by Boulnois (1966), Miller (1969), and Loewe (1971), while the Indic connections are considered by Warmington (1928), Filliozat (1956: pt. 1), Margabandhu (1965), and Adhya (1966).

(Kirmān), and the Indus Delta port of Patala (G. Hourani 1951: 22-23; Mukherjee 1969: 62, 108), while Apollonius (first century B.C.) is said to have halted at Patala on his voyage from India to the Euphrates (Philostratus 1912 vol. 1: 339).[91] It would seem from the above that Patala was a regular stage along the maritime trade route in the western Indian Ocean. Indeed, Pliny the Elder (1942 vol. 2: 395, 415) and Strabo (1917-32 vol. 7: 129-31) give the distance by sea between Patala and the Persian Gulf and Arabia and by land between Patala and the Caspian Gates, implying the existence of trade routes between these areas.

The most important Greek source on ancient Sind, however, is the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1912: sec. 39), an account of the geography and trade of the Indian Ocean written sometime between A.D. 90 and 115 by an anonymous sailor-merchant residing in the Red Sea region. At this time, the Sindī port of Barbaricum ("Foreigner's Town"), which had replaced Patala as the primary port of Sind, was one of the two main maritime entrepots of northern India, the other being Barygaza (Broach) in Gujarat. According to the *Periplus*, costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, turquoise, lapis lazuli, seric skins, cotton cloth, silk yarn, and indigo were exported westwards from Barbaricum. The presence of turquoise and lapis lazuli in this list reminds one the previously mentioned semiprecious stones imported into Sind and processed at the monastery of Depar Ghangro. In any case, with the probable exception of cotton cloth and indigo, all these exports must have originated outside Sind, primarily Central Asia and China.[92] Moreover, while Roman coins were exported to other parts of India, only gold and silver plate were sent to the Sindī port (compare ibid.: sec. 39 with secs. 49, 56). As Adhya has suggested (1966: 134-36), the importation of bullion and not coins into Barbaricum is strong evidence that its trade, unlike that of Indian ports, was primarily transit and not terminal. The bullion would have been sent on as payment for goods in transit to those areas such as Central Asia or China where the Roman coins were not acceptable as legal tender.

The Chinese sources for this period are also aware of the commercial importance of Sind. Around the same time as Agatharchides, Chang Ch'ien (d. 114 B.C.), an ambassador of the Chinese emperor Wu, on examining a number of articles for sale in Bactria, was informed by the salesmen: "Our merchants go to buy them in the markets of Shen-tu [Sind]."[93] The *Ch'ien Han Shu* (written ca. A.D. 100) refers to a number of ambassadors from Chi-Pin (the Kuṣāṇa controlled trans-Indus region) travelling to China. According to this source, they were "all mean men carrying on commerce. They wish to open up commercial

91 The silting of the Indus Delta and the frequent changes in the course of the Indus River have hindered the identification of the various ancient Sindī ports. For plausible sites for Patala see Wilhelmy (1968: 258-63).

92 See Schoff's notes (*Periplus* 1912: 168-72) for the origins of these materials.

93 Ssu-ma Ch'ien 1961 vol. 2: 269, 293-94. For a discussion of this event see Needham (1965: 173-75). The Chinese data on Sind and India have been discussed by Mukherjee (1970, 1977).

relations for the sake of the trade."[94] Notwithstanding their meanness, the Chi-Pin merchants were allowed to pursue their trade, and envoys were exchanged every few years. At a later date, the *Hou Han Shu* (written ca. 445) notes the extensive and profitable (with margins of ten to one) Indian maritime trade with the people of Ta Ts'in (the Roman Orient) (Fan Yeh 1907: 184).

As previously mentioned, Indic sources refer to the trade routes passing through Sind, primarily those centred around Roruka (Arōr), the capital of the region of Sind known as Sauvīra.[95] The Buddhist *Milinda-Paṅha* (1963 [1890-94] vol. 2: 269), for example, refers to regular maritime trade between Sauvīra and Surat, Bengal, the Coromandal Coast, the Malay Peninsula, China, and Alexandria in Egypt. The ideal Buddhist city (*dhamma-nagara*) of this Pali text contains not only bazaars, bankers, merchants, and artisans, but is filled with people from Sind (the port of Alexandria on the Indus), China, Bactria, Gandhara, and other places (ibid.: 211). In addition, an inscription found at the Deccan monastic complex at Nasik records the dedication of a cave temple by a rich Buddhist merchant named Yonaka Dhammadeva who had travelled there from the town of Datāmitī in Sauvīra (Jairazbhoy 1963: 126).

Passage through Sind held several advantages for merchants involved in the transit trade. There were four main stages to the overland silk route: from China to the Pamirs, from the Pamirs to the Merv oasis, from Merv to Seleucia, and from Seleucia to the Roman frontier (Needham 1965: 181-82). The third and fourth stages with their respective tariffs could be circumvented by transporting the goods overland to Taxila, proceeding down the Indus River to the Indian Ocean ports of Sind, and thence westwards by sea. This route would bypass Parthian and later Sasanian territories, states which were often unreliable, monopolistic, and expensive (Adhya 1966: 109-11; Mukherjee 1970: 15-16, 53; Bivar 1969: 47). In addition, maritime transportation generally was preferred to land transportation during this period on the grounds that the former was cheaper than the latter, even if the distance was somewhat greater (Miller 1969: 198; Curtin 1984: 96). Of all the ports in the Indian subcontinent, those of Sind were the closest to the overland Central Asian trade routes. Shipment via Sind had the added benefit of low-cost riverine transportation on the long, wide, and navigable Indus river which ran from Gandhara all the way to the Indian Ocean.

The crucial inter-regional transit trade which cycled through Sind and held such importance for the Buddhist community was adversely affected in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. as a result of a number of interconnected factors,

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94 Pan Ku 1881: 37. For the identification of Chi-Pin with the Kuṣāṇa empire see Tarn (1951: 469-71).

95 While Indic sources commonly used the compound Sindhu-Sauvīra with reference to the entire area of greater Sind, there is no consensus among modern scholars on the precise location of Sauvīra. Sircar (1971a: 113) defines it as the entire region east of the Indus from the Delta to Multān; Dani 1981) prefers to limit it to the present Siraiki-speaking region of Upper Sind; while Eggermont (1975: 146-48, 167-74) locates it in the Las Bela region of Eastern Mukrān.

both external and internal to Sind. International events, over which Sindi Buddhists had little control, impinged on the transit trade from Central Asia and China, especially the trade in silk. By the sixth century A.D., the Sasanians had been able to achieve a near monopoly on both the maritime and overland trade routes westwards, to the disadvantage of the ports of Sind and the Red Sea.[96] The Byzantines devised various stratagems to circumvent the monopoly (which drastically raised the cost of silk and created a drain on capital) and reestablish direct communications across the Indian Ocean via the Red Sea. The emperor Justinian (A.D. 527-65) negotiated with the Ethiopian Axumites to buy silk from the Indian ports and resell it to the Byzantines. According to Procopius (1914-40 vol. 1: 913-94), the plan failed when the Persians managed to monopolize all the silk appearing in the Indian markets.[97] In any case, the introduction of silkworms into the Byzantine empire in A.D. 551 and the subsequent proliferation of silk factories there ameliorated Byzantine's silk problem, but must have had a deleterious effect on what trade in silk still passed westwards through Sind.[98]

The seventh century A.D. brought further problems. The expansion of the Arabs may have diminished the volume of East-West trade cycled through Sind, at least until the Arabs had managed to integrate the Persian commercial routes (A. Lewis 1951: 54-97; R. S. Sharma 1965: 68). The Arab expansion into Central Asia inhibited the movement of goods along the overland route: two Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Hsun-Chao and I-Tsing, refer to the Arab blockage in the region of Bactria of the overland trade route from India to China in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. (I-Tsing 1966 [1896]: liii; Ch'en 1964: 235). Further east, the expansion of the Tibetans, who held Kashgar from A.D. 670 to 692, threatened and partly closed the overland trade route in that region, further accentuating the tendency, already observable, for Chinese goods to travel westwards on the maritime route via Ceylon (Needham 1965: 186-87; R. A. Stein 1972: 56-66; Huzayyin 1942: 148). The extent of the closure is particularly evident in the itineraries of Buddhist monks travelling between China and India: while earlier the preferred route had been by land, by the latter half of the seventh century A.D. the vast majority were proceeding by sea (Ch'en 1964: 238-39; Gopal 1965: 107-9). There was still trade between India, China, and the West, but it was primarily maritime and centred on the entrepot of Ceylon. Since the major economic advantage of Sind lay in the location of its riverine

96 Sasanian commerce and its impact on other economies is noted by Needham (1965: 185-87), Hasan (1928: 67-71), A. Lewis (1951: 32-34), Maity (1970: 175-81), and Whitehouse and Williamson (1973).

97 For a discussion of these events see G. Hourani (1951: 43-44) and Huzayyin (1942: 133).

98 Procopius 1914-40 vol. 5: 227-31. According to R. S. Sharma (1965: 68), the introduction of siviculture into the Byzantine empire "drastically reduced whatever remained of the shrunken foreign commerce of North-Western India in Gupta times." This would have been particularly acute in Sind which depended on transit trade for the greater part of its commerce.

system and seaports as the closest maritime transport to the overland trade route, it did not benefit significantly from this restructured commerce.

At the same time, the importance of inter-regional trade to the total Sindī economy was declining with the concomitant feudalization of the area.[99] The process accelerated in the seventh century with the usurpation of the Brahmin Chach b. Sīlā'ij whose family, as noted, was attached to a Hindu temple in the rural regions of Upper Sind. According to the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 15-16), before the Muslim conquest the country was subdivided into four separate administrative divisions, each with a governor (*malik*) residing in his own capital.[100] The primary duty of each governor was to safeguard his province and feudal estates (*iqṭā'āt*). The use of the latter term suggests that the state had farmed out its land revenue on a systematic basis. There is no reason to doubt the historicity of the *Chachnāmah* here (although the use of the term *iqṭā'* for such an early period is anomalous). As Hiuen Tsiang observed, "the governors, ministers, magistrates, and officials have each a portion of land consigned to them for their personal support" (1884 vol. 1:88). Certainly, at the time of the conquest, various rural fiscal and administrative rights adhered to local Brahmins (see above pp. 42-43).

In keeping with their rural origins, the Brahmin kings who ruled Sind had little apparent understanding of, or concern for, regularized inter-regional commerce. When "pirates," operating from the port of Daybul, attacked and seized the merchandize of a fleet of Arab boats proceeding to the Middle East from the entrepot in Ceylon, Dāhir b. Chach proved unwilling or unable to make the restitutions the Arabs requested: "This is the work of a band of pirates (*duzdān*), no one is more powerful than they are. They do not accept our authority either" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 91).[101] Dāhir's defense and subsequent actions are of some interest, especially when seen in contrast to the Sindī Buddhist response to the same incident. It is clear that his plea of noninvolvement is not acceptable. After all, the "pirates" were residents of the port of Daybul which, Muslim sources make clear, was part of his domain; his son Jaysīyah was the governor of Daybul at the time of the piracy; and, moreover, the contents of the Arab fleet were confiscated and the Muslim passengers incarcerated in the city's prison (ibid.: 89-92, 108-10). The Arabs subsequently made three attempts to seize the port, twice being defeated by the forces of Dāhir before finally succeeding the third

99 For observations on Indian feudalism see Sharma (1965), Gopal 1965), and Coulborn (1967-68). Feudalism in Sind may have been more extensive than in other regions of North India due to its earlier and more complete reliance on transit trade.

100 The four were Lower Sind with its capital at Brahmanābād, Western Sind with its capital at Sīwistān, Central Sind with its capital at Iskalandah, and Upper Sind with its capital at Multān. The overall capital of Sind was at Arōr, and the king personally governed that region of Sind known by the Arabs as Ṭūrān.

101 Cf., Balādhurī (1866: 435): "Bandits (*luṣūṣ*) have seized [the Arab ships] and I have no authority over them."

time.[102] At all times, Dāhir's forces were in clear control of the city and formed the main opposition to the Arabs.

The incident at Daybul (which formed the *casus belli* for the Arab conquest of Sind) illustrates, at the minimum, Dāhir's lack of interest in providing security for transit trade passing through Sind. Indeed, it is even possible that a portion of the income of the state (or even of Dāhir) derived from the "pirates" operating out of Daybul. Dāhir may well have felt that the immediate income generated from official or quasi-official piracy was of more value than the long-range or theoretical benefits of a regularized commerce. In any case, he did not hold a high opinion of the value of commerce. When Daybul had been finally conquered by the Arabs, Dāhir wrote Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim: "You should know that the fort of Daybul which you have conquered is merely the residence of merchants and artisans" (ibid.: 112). It is clear from his reply that the Sindī king considered merchants and artisans as unimportant to his polity which, as noted, was based on the rural north and his feudal assignees.

The attitude of the Buddhists of Nīrūn to these events occurring at Daybul contrast sharply with that of Dāhir. Sundur, the Buddhist governor of the city, dispatched two of his Buddhist compatriots to the court of al-Ḥajjāj in order to apologize for and dissociate themselves from the piracy at Daybul (ibid.: 93; Balādhurī 1866: 437-38). They offered to remit a tribute in regular installments and received in return a written treaty from the governor of 'Irāq. It was these same Buddhists who, when the Arabs arrived in force a few years later, opened the gates of their city and "bought and sold with the soldiers" (ibid.: 117, 131). It is safe to conclude that they perceived that their own best interests were not served by the actions of Dāhir at Daybul.

Collaboration reconsidered. The century before the Arab conquest brought about certain changes in the socioeconomic situation in Sind which would have had a differential impact on Buddhists and Hindus. The decline in inter-regional trade—of primary importance to urban, mercantile Buddhists—would have led to a concomitant decline in Buddhist accumulation of mercantile surpluses. Hindus, whose socioeconomic base was primarily rural, would not have been as susceptible. Moreover, the antagonism of the Brahmin dynasty specifically towards regularized inter-regional commerce (as evidenced by the piracy at Daybul) would have tended further to exacerbate the Buddhist situation and to deter Buddhists dependent on this commerce from the full-hearted support of the dynasty. That is, there is good reason to believe that the urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind were not satisfied with their socioeconomic situation under the

102 Balādhurī (ibid.: 435-36) gives the raids of 'Ubayd Allāh b. Nabhān al-Salamī and Budayl b. Ṭahfah al-Bajalī as two separate events, while the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 91-93) considers them as part of the same two-pronged attack. In any case, the raids were a failure and Daybul was not conquered until the time of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim.

Brahmin dynasty. They were thus (unlike the majority of Hindus) in a situation where they might welcome some action which might improve their fortunes.

The incorporation of Sind into the Arab empire, a rapidly expanding trade empire, held out certain advantages to a mercantile people involved in inter-regional commerce: the reopening of the overland trade route through Central Asia to China, the regularization of the disrupted maritime commerce (both Indic and Chinese) passing through Sind, and the access to the vital markets of the Middle East.

Certainly, from the Arab side, trade issues were important considerations in the decision to invade Sind. The security of the maritime route eastwards was threatened by the seizure at Daybul of a fleet of Arab boats involved in this trade and the refusal of the government of Sind to take some remedial action. If Sind could be absorbed by the Arabs, it would solve the problem of the insecure maritime trade routes in the Indus Delta region and give the Arabs an entrepot in the east. Al-Ḥajjāj, however, had even larger ambitions. The invasion on Sind was only one part of an audacious two-pronged movement aimed at expanding Arab influence and trade on the entire eastern front. The governor of 'Irāq had dispatched Muḥammad to the Indus region and Qutaybah b. Muslim to Central Asia with the written orders that whoever reached China first would be its governor (Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 346). Troops and materials were even exchanged between the two armies during the ensuing military operations (Tabarī 1879-1901 vol. 2: 1257; *Chachnāmah* 1939: 217).

While the drive on China via Sind has sometimes been seen as hyberbole or geographic ignorance on the part of the Arabs, if one views the eastern front in economic terms, there is nothing unsound about attempting to control the Central Asian and Chinese overland trade by invading through the Indus Delta and Central Asia at the same time. Sind had been a major entrepot of the overland trade due to the riverine connections between Central Asia and port of Daybul. The fortunes of Sind had in the past (with the Kuṣāṇas) and would again in the future (with the British) become enmeshed in the global politics of inter-regional commerce.[103]

The parties directly concerned with the two-pronged Arab expansion were aware of the potential dangers and opportunities it provided. The Tibetans entered into a loose alliance with the Arabs with the aim of controlling the entire overland trade route: they would secure the eastern sector and the Arabs the western.[104] The Chinese acted quickly to protect their interests in these regions. They dispatched troops against both the Tibetans and the Arabs in Central Asia, exchanged envoys and promises of aid with various kings of North India, and

103 See Mukherjee (1970) for the Kuṣāṇas and Postans (1973 [1843] for the British. Postans expands at length on the commercial considerations (principally to control the trade of Central Asia) influencing the British invasion of Sind.

104 The events are discussed by Gopal (1965: 105-7), Prakash (1969), and Yün-Hua (1973).

sent military assistance to the king of Kashmir in order to guard against a possible Arab thrust north from Sind through Kashmir to join up with the Arab or Tibetan forces in Central Asia.[105]

As far as Sind is concerned, the Buddhist envoys from Nīrūn had been informed by al-Ḥajjāj before the conquest that the Arabs intended to invade Sind "up to the border of China" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 93). With their long history of trade relationships with Central Asia and China, the urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind must have immediately realized the possibilities inherent for their class in the Arab eastern front and taken them into account in opting for collaboration. That is, the urban, mercantile Buddhists may have hoped that the Arab conquest would reopen inter-regional trade routes, both maritime and overland, and hence benefit their class and, indirectly, their religion. They would have had good reason to perceive that their mercantile interests would be better served under an Arab trade empire (perhaps one allied with Tibet) than under an isolationist Brahmin dynasty with little interest in a regularized inter-regional commerce. Action taken in support of such a perception would easily take the form of collaboration with the Arabs.

Conversion reconsidered. To a certain extent, Buddhist expectations of the revival of inter-regional trade and the mercantile sector of the Sindī economy were fulfilled during the Arab period. The political and economic unity of the entire area from Sind to North Africa under the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids would have integrated the trade routes from Sind westwards and contributed toward the revival of the mercantile sector within Sind.[106] There is some evidence that the capital generated in Arab Sind was of a considerable volume. According to a detailed list of the estimated revenue of the 'Abbāsid provinces prepared for Yaḥyá b. Khālid al-Barmakī in the early part of the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), Sind was expected to yield 11,500,000 dirhams, with Mukrān (governed from Sind) adding a further 400,000 dirhams.[107] This figure compares quite favourably with other outlying provinces (e.g., Sīstān, 4,600,000, Kirmān, 4,200,000, Jurjān, 12,000,000). Over and above the cash assessment, Sind also remitted a large amount of food stuffs, spices (aloe, cloves, nutmeg), textiles, slippers, and elephants.

Muslim geographers writing of Arab Sind frequently contrast the intemperate

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105 The Indian reaction is noted by Gopal (1965: 106-7), S. M. Mishra (1977: 58), R. C. Majumdar (1954a: 130-32), and Ray (1970). Gibb (1923) has detailed the Chinese perspective on the Arab advance through Central Asia.

106 There is a considerable literature on this pan-Islamic trade. Note, in particular, the studies by Hourani (1951 ch. 2: "Trade Routes under the Caliphate"), Huzayyin (1942 ch. 4: "The Commercial Relations in the Irano-(Perso-) Arabian Period"), and Ashtor (1976: ch. 3).

107 The revenue list is preserved by Jahshiyārī (1938: 281-86), Ibn Khaldūn (1956-61 vol. 1: 318-21), and Ibn Khayyāṭ. Akram al-'Umarī's edition of Ibn Khayyāṭ used here (1966) omits the revenue tables found in a unique manuscript at the Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat. The two pages in question are given and discussed by Saleh Ahmad El-Ali (1971).

climate of the region with the importance of the trade, even suggesting that Sind's sole advantage lay in its function as a commercial entrepot (e.g., Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 175; *Ḥudūd* 1970: 122; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 323). The city of Quṣdār had a special sector (called Būdīn) with houses set aside for merchants travelling to and from Khurāsān, Fārs, Kirmān, and India (Maqdisī 1877: 478). Caravans proceeded overland between Sind and Central Asia, either directly from Multān or from Manṣūrah via Quṣdār and the Bolan Pass;[108] between Sind and Sīstān and Fārs (and on to the Middle East) via Mukrān;[109] between Sind and Tibet, Kashmir, and other parts of India.[110] The geographers also note the resumption of maritime interregional trade with China via Sind. Ibn Khurradādhbih (1889: 60-71) gives a detailed itinerary of the maritime route from Baṣrah to Daybul and on to India and China. He also notes (ibid.: 69) that it is two months' voyage by sea from Armābīl (a variation of Armā'īl), the second port of Sind, to China.[111] Jewish merchants who specialized in the transfer trade between Europe, the Middle East, and Asia travelled to and from China via Sind, either along the maritime route (by way of both the Persian Gulf and Red Sea) or overland via Mukrān (ibid.: 153-55).

Moreover, the archaeological and numismatic evidence bears witness to a fairly sizeable commerce passing through Sind, especially in the third/ninth century. Recent excavations have uncovered several thousand coins of the Arab period at Banbhore, the site of Daybul, including items minted at Samarqand, Wāsiṭ, Miṣr, Ardashīr-Khurray, Taymarah, Marw, and Baṣrah (Nasir 1979: nos. 1, 11-14, 36-37, 39, 50). Similar coins, not yet adequately studied or readily available, have been located at other Arab period ruins in Sind.[112] The large volume of Arab coins uncovered, in comparison to pre-Islamic coins, suggests that the circulation of capital through Sind increased during the early Arab period. Pottery and stoneware also indicate the participation of Sind in the extensive Arab international trade network. Pottery wares of the Sāmarrā, Fusṭāṭ, and

108 Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 1: 207) refers to the caravans travelling between Sind and Khurāsān; Maqdisī (1877: 486) notes the carrying costs of the caravan from Multān to Ghaznayn and the route from Manṣūrah via Quzdār; Ya'qūbī (1892: 287-88) gives the itinerary from Multān to Balkh.

109 The stages of the overland route through Mukrān are detailed by Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 178-79), Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 317-18, 326), Ibn Khurradādhbih (1889: 53-55, 154-55), and Ibn al-Faqīh (1885: 208).

110 For the trade from Sind across the desert to India see Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 318-19, 327), Maqdisī (1877: 486), and *Ḥudūd* (1970: 89-90, 123). Ya'qūbī (1892: 365) refers to the Sindī trade in musk from Tibet, while Rāmhurmuzī (1886: 103-4) notes the trade with Kashmir via the Indus River.

111 For Armābīl (probably in the vicinity of Las Bela) see Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 171, 176, 178), Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 319, 326), and Idrīsī (1960: 40, 46-47, 77). It was ruled by Buddhists in the pre-conquest period (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 48).

112 Reu (1947) reports 6, 585 silver coins of the Arab period; Prinsep (1971 [1858] vol. 2: 119-24) refers to a twenty-eight pound shot-bag full of Arab coins found at the site of Mansūrah; while Vost (1909) mentions 74 silver Arab coins found at Ajmir. Also see Cousens (1925: 178-84), Rehatsek (1874), and Thomas (1882).

Samarqand types have been discovered in the Arab period debris at Daybul, Jhukar, and the urban complex of Brahmanābād-Manṣūrah Maḥfūẓah while Chinese Dusun jars and decorative stoneware of the third/ninth century (similar to items found at the port of Sīrāf) have been located in large quantities at Daybul, Khaira Kot (the Arab Qanbalī, near the port of Armābīl), and Brahmanābād-Manṣūrah.[113]

While the inter-regional commerce cycled through Sind did revive during the Arab period, it was a trade with several critical, interrelated differences, at least from the perspective of the mercantile Buddhists. In brief, the restored trade generally emphasized alternate trade routes, was supported by different institutions, and, most importantly, became the monopoly of a competitive urban, mercantile elite. These factors were to have a negative impact on those Sindī Buddhists who accumulated surplus, directly or indirectly, through inter-regional commerce.

As previously observed, the trade of importance to Sindī Buddhists had been that which was routed between Central Asia and the West. The Buddhists connections along this route in Central Asia had given the Buddhist merchants of Sind an advantage through their access to commercial facilities and intelligence. Their competitive edge in the trade to and from this region would have declined progressively as Central Asia—in particular, the entrepot of Balkh—was absorbed politically by the Arabs and its peoples gradually became Muslim.[114] Moreover, a major advantage of the transit route via Sind had been the cost-efficient circumvention of an often hostile and monopolistic Īrān. With this area integrated economically and politically into the Muslim empire, a detour by way of the Indus Valley would no longer be as necessary or desirable. Goods could move directly from Balkh to the cities of Khurāsān, Fārs, 'Irāq, and points further west. To be sure, as long as Sind intervened between Central Asia and India, the trade of goods produced in these areas would necessarily travel via Sind. The mercantile surplus generated by this transit trade would be limited, however, to the demand generated within the respective regions, and the profit margins would probably be less than the previous transit trade to and from the markets of the West.

More seriously, the transfer role of Sindī Buddhists was minimized as the Ar-

113 For the Middle Eastern pottery found in Sind see Hobson (1932: 8-10 and plate 4, figs. 14-18), Cousens (1925: 50, 52-53), N. G. Majumdar (1934: 7-8), *Banbhōr* (1971: 34-39), and "Excavations" (1964: 53-54). The Chinese material, which is particularly plentiful at Daybul, is noted in *Banbhōr* (1971: 36), "Excavations" (1964: 51, 54), Hobson (1932: 9 note 17), and M. A. Stein (1931: 55; 1943: 200). Whitehouse (1973) compares the Banbhore (Daybul) and Brahmanābād stoneware with items found at Sīrāf which were deposited before A.D. 825. Hodges and Whitehouse (1983: ch. 6) summarize the archaeological evidence for 'Abbāsid eastern trade, suggesting that it peaked in the early third/ninth century.

114 Huzayyin 1942: 258-59. See Gibb (1970 [1923]) for the early Arab conquests in Central Asia.

abs gained their own expertise in eastern commerce and travelled directly from the Middle East to trade with India, Southeast Asia, and China. During the third/ninth century, the maritime trade to Southeast Asia and China was dominated by Muslim (with the occasional Jewish) merchants who built entrepot facilities in these areas, connecting with trade networks and distribution facilities westwards.[115] Hence, while the Chinese trade by way of Sind was restored, this trade was almost entirely maritime, not overland, and in the hands of Muslim, not Buddhist, merchants.

The only apparent route where Buddhists still retained an advantage was with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa domains in western India. It is significant in this respect that the sole Buddhist monastery in Sind where Arab coins have been found (undated and now lost) is at Mirpur Khas (Cousens 1925: 93), located on the trade route to Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruled Gujarat. And, as noted (above p. 54), there was a community of Buddhist monks residing in Gujarat in the third/ninth century. However, even in this case, Buddhists in Sind would have been unable to monopolize Rāṣṭrakūṭa products exported via the Indus Valley through the Buddhist connection. There were large communities of Arab merchants actually residing in important Rāṣṭrakūṭa ports (i.e., Sandān, Ṣaymūr, Kanbāyah, Sūbārah). The Arab merchants here had their own mosques and were governed by a Muslim *hunarman* (the local equivalent of a *qāḍī*) according to Muslim laws and with the authority and consent of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king (titled Ballahrá by the Arabs).[116] If the Arabs could obtain Rāṣṭrakūṭa exports directly from their producers in India, there would be no need to transship via Sind and little financial advantage to the Sindī Buddhists from their commercial and monastic connections.

An important part of the pre-Islamic Buddhist commercial network had been the credit and transfer facilities provided by the monasteries. It is clear that, for the most part, the trade which revived under the Arabs bypassed the Buddhist monasteries of Sind. As previously mentioned, while pre-Islamic coins are relatively plentiful in Sindī Buddhist structures, Arab coins have been found only in the ruins of the monastery at Mirpur Khas. If the mercantile activities of these monasteries had persisted, then post-conquest coins should be as plentiful as pre-Islamic. Moreover, the Arabs superseded the Buddhist monopoly on interregional facilities by building caravansaries of their own along the major trade routes. Thus, for example, while the pre-Islamic inscription found at the Buddhist monastery of Tor-Dherai records the erection of a water tank for the

115 A vivid account of this trade is given in the anonymous *Akhbār al-Ṣīn wa-al-Hind* (1948). Discussion and references can be found in Tibbetts (1957) and Lewicki (1935).

116 The communities [redacted] noted by Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 319-20), *Ḥudūd* (1970: 88-89), Mas'ūdi (1861-77 vol. 1: 382-83), Yāqūt (1866-73 vol. 3: 165-66, 444). Janaki (1969) discusses the various Arab ports in Gujarat, while Mubārakpūrī (1959) relates the history of the Māhānids of Sandān. For the *hunarman* see Rāmhurmuzī (1886: 142-44, 161, and notes p. 204). Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 2: 85-86) gives the variation *hizmah*.

benefit of travellers (see above p. 59), the Tochi Valley inscription, dated 242/856, records the dedication of a tank for the same purpose by a Muslim named Ḥayy b. 'Ammār (Dani, Humbach and Gobl 1964: 128-30). There are other sites throughout Sind and Mukrān—although without inscriptions and hence difficult to date—which may have fulfilled the same function (N.G. Majumdar 1934: 122-23). And recent excavations at Banbhore (Daybul) have shown traces of the foundation of a caravansary attached to the Arab period mosque of the city ("Banbhore" 1968: 180). By the third/ninth century, then, the Arabs were fulfilling some of the inter-regional trade functions previously provided by the Buddhist monasteries. This would adversely affect Buddhist participation in the restored trade by challenging their monopoly on credit and transportation facilities.

In addition, internal Buddhist industrial production at monasteries was supplanted by newly-built Arab industrial sectors. Prior to the Arab conquest, the Buddhist monastery at Depar Ghangro had capitalized on the inter-regional trade in semiprecious stones by processing them in an extensive industrial area attached to the monastery (see above p. 60). The Arabs built special industrial quarters within the urban areas of Sind, probably both for local consumption and to process materials for export (*Banbhōr* 1971: 21-22). The Buddhist ability to process the articles of inter-regional trade would have been affected by both the decline in their control of this commerce and the competition offered by the new Arab facilities.

Finally, Muslims displaced Buddhists as the dominant urban, mercantile class in Sind. The Arabs in Sind, as elsewhere during this period,[117] were particularly urban in orientation. They settled in existing cities, expanding them (e.g., Daybul), and built new cities like Manṣūrah and Bayḍā', which served as garrisons and administrative and trade centres.[118] In some cases, the new Arab cities completely replaced the old—as Manṣūrah did Brahmanābād—or brought others into a state of decline.[119] Until the fourth/tenth century, the Arabs pre-

117 For the peculiarities, variations, and limitations of early Islamic urbanism see Lapidus (1969, 1973), A. Hourani (1970), Khalidi (1981), and Kennedy (1985).

118 After the conquest of Daybul, a quarter was marked out for theArabs and four thousand are said to have settled there (Balādhurī 1866: 437). Bayḍā' was built by 'Imrān b. Mūsá al-Barmakī (ibid.: 435, 445; Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 1: 761), while Manṣūrah was built by 'Amr b. Muḥammad al-Thaqafī during the governorship of al-Ḥakam b. 'Awānah al-Kalbī (Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 389; Balādhurī 1866: 444; Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 4: 663). Other towns not noted at the time of the Arab conquest but present in later geographical accounts are Bānīyah, Bulrī (or Ballarī), Maswāhī, Manḥātrá, and Qallarī.

119 Manṣūrah, built only two farsakhs from the old city of Brahmanābād (Balādhurī 1866: 439), became the major urban complex of Sind; thereafter, Brahmanābād is noted only as an antiquity (Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 4: 663). Other urban areas mentioned at the time of the conquest but not thereafter are Rāwar, Mawj, Bahrūr, Dahlīlah, Harāwar, Sīsam, and Sākrah. Arōr, the capital of pre-Islamic Sind, gradually diminished in importance during the Arab period, although geographers still refer to it (e.g., Maqdisī 1877: 477).

ferred to govern the rural areas of Sind from urban complexes by proxy through Brahmins or other indigenes.

The high culture of the urban areas was both Arab and Islamic. The urban architecture of Arab Sind had little indigenous input, resembling instead that of Kūfah, Damascus, Wāsiṭ, or 'Umān.[120] The Arab rejection of the Sindī environment in their urban designs is particularly striking in contrast to later Muslim architecture in Sind which absorbed many regional motifs.[121] Furthermore, certain important Muslim institutions, such as mosques and schools, were located primarily in urban areas. At the time of the conquest, al-Ḥajjāj ordered Muḥammad to build mosques in every major urban area (*qaṣbah*) of Sind (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 240). The main mosque at Daybul had an attached school ("Banbhore" 1968: 180; "Excavations" 1964: 53), and this may have been the usual situation in Arab Sind. The congregational mosque at Manṣūrah, a city built by the Arabs, was located in the middle of the market (Maqdisī 1877: 479), evincing the close relationship between this major Islamizing institution and both the city and the market.

Moreover, the pan-Islamic international trade network to which Sind had been linked by conquest was controlled, for the most part, by the Muslim mercantile bourgeoisie.[122] Not only were Muḥammad and many of his Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) merchants, but the Qur'ān and the traditions contain numerous passages referring to the positive value of commerce and trade (Rodinson 1978: ch. 1). Later jurists elaborated on the theme. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī, ■ Ḥanafite jurist of the third/ninth century, wrote a treatise entitled *Kitāb al-kasb* ("Book of Earnings") wherein he suggests that commerce is actually incumbent on Muslims by way of religious duty (cited in Goitein 1966: 220-29). This perspective carried over into commercial law which acted to protect the mercantile interests of Muslim vis-à-vis non-Muslim merchants. According to a ruling attributed to the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (13-23/634-44), ■ non-Muslim merchant who was the subject of a Muslim state (i.e., *dhimmī*) had to pay double the customs duty of a Muslim (5 percent rather than 2.5 percent) on goods with a value of over two hundred dirhams.[123] If consistently applied, this discriminatory customs regulation would have diminished the ability of the Buddhist merchants of Sind to compete equally with Muslims in large-scale (i.e., over two hundred dirhams) inter-regional commerce.

During the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods, there was a close relationship be-

120 Maqdisī (ibid.: 479-80) compares the architecture of Manṣūrah with Damascus (and its main mosque with one in 'Umān) and Multān with Sīrāf. The Umayyad period mosque at Daybul resembled mosques of the same period at Kūfah and Wāsiṭ (Ashfaque 1969: 206-7).

121 See Bunting (1980) and Dani (1982) for this innovative regional architecture.

122 An excellent overview is provided by Rodinson (1970, 1978) and Goitein (1966: 217-41). Also see Zubaidah (1972) and Heffening (1934).

123 Although only half the rate of ■ *ḥarbī*. The relevant traditions can be found in Abū 'Ubayd (1934: 526-32), Abū Yūsuf (1969: 140-43), and Qudāmah (1965: 56-57).

tween the Muslim trading classes and Islamic religious learning. Indeed, the majority of the *'ulamā'*, the primary representatives and interpreters of textual Islam, were drawn from the ranks of the mercantile bourgeoisie (Cohen 1970: 35-41). Some of these religious scholars were involved directly in the eastern commerce. Ibrāhīm b. Mālik al-Bazzāza-Baghdādī (d. 264/877), for example, was both a traditionist and a merchant who travelled regularly between Sind and the Middle East in the course of his business (Ibn Abī Ḥātim 1952-53 vol. 2: 140).

After the Arab conquest, the major merchants of Sind belonged as well to the larger cosmopolitan Muslim bourgeoisie. While ordinary Muslims in Sind dressed like their compatriot non-Muslims, the merchants followed the fashions of 'Irāq and Fārs (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 177; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 325). This suggests that they were either drawn from these regions or, as is more likely, accepted the cultural dictates of the larger pan-Islamic mercantile community as their exemplar. They were in Sind, but not really part of it. To participate in the new inter-regional trade was in many ways to become Arab, and if Arab then necessarily Muslim.

As a result of these factors, Sindī Buddhist merchants would have found it increasingly difficult to compete with Muslim merchants on an equal footing in the revived commerce. And, as their share of the trade declined, so would their share of the accumulation of mercantile surpluses. To be sure, the Muslim domination of inter-regional commerce may have left the Buddhists to compete with the Hindus for the control of intra-regional commerce (i.e., supplying Sindī markets with Sindī goods). Here, however, the possibilities of accumulating surpluses would be less than in inter-regional commerce where the profit margin (and risk) was much higher. Hence, even if the Buddhists of Sind could have compensated their loss of inter-regional by increasing their representation in intra-regional commerce, they still would have experienced a relative decline in their overall share of accumulated mercantile surpluses.

What I am suggesting, then, is that the urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind (those affected by changes in the patterns of inter-regional commerce) experienced what sociologists of religion have called "relative deprivation." The term has best been defined by David Aberle —

> . . . a negative discrepancy between legitimate expectation and actuality. Where an individual or a group has a particular expectation and furthermore where this expectation is considered to be a proper state of affairs, and where something less than that expectation is fulfilled, we may speak of relative deprivation [1970: 209].

It is important to bear in mind that the deprivation is relative and not absolute. That is, the issue of importance is not the extent to which Buddhists possessed or did not possess mercantile surpluses in absolute terms, but the negative change in their share of the accumulation of such surpluses. The urban, mercantile Buddhists of Sind were clearly not a disadvantaged group—what Niebuhr

(1929) has called the "disinherited" or Yinger (1963) the "disprivileged"—either before or after the Arab conquest. Rather, as the foregoing analysis has made clear, they lost control of certain economic resources and capital which had previously belonged to them. Moreover, the term is being used here in an intra-group historical sense. A person or group is not relatively deprived simply because he does not possess something another person or group does possess. An outcaste agricultural labourer, for example, may not own an estate, but he is not relatively deprived unless he or his group once formed a land-holding class and hence could legitimately expect to own land. That is, the concept holds an additional component of legitimate expectations.

While various forms of relative deprivation can be distinguished (Aberle [1970] refers to the deprivation of possessions, status, behaviour, and worth, while Glock [1964] writes of economic, social, organismic, ethical, and psychic forms), the concern here has been so far solely with the socioeconomic type for which there is clear evidence. To extend the analysis, however, if it is true, as has been suggested, that urban, mercantile Buddhists collaborated with the Arabs under the expectation that the conquest would rejuvenate both the economy of Sind and their share of the accumulation of capital and this did not occur, then one can also speak of relative deprivation in expectations.[124] Moreover, it is probable that there was a corresponding decline in status among urban, mercantile Buddhists as their ability to allocate resources declined along with their accumulation of mercantile surpluses.

Not only had the objective socioeconomic position of urban, mercantile Buddhists declined, but there was no indication that their fortunes, as Buddhists, would improve in the immediate or long-range future. Their situation was not simply a reflection of the state of the economy. The socioeconomic deprivation of urban, mercantile Buddhists was not irremedial, as would have been the case if the deprivation had been general in Sind (e.g., as the result of a prolonged economic depression affecting all classes). For remedial action to be perceived possible, relative deprivation must occur within a group but not within all groups. As previously noted, the economy of Sind and inter-regional commerce did revive during the Arab period. That is, the relative control of the accumulation of mercantile surplus by the urban, mercantile Buddhists declined in a situation where the circulation of commercial capital passing through Sind actually increased. As a result, they could readily perceive the deterioration of their socioeconomic position in religious terms related to their belonging to the category non-Muslim since, we have seen, the comparative reference group of urban, mercantile Muslims prospered during the same period.

Studies of the effects of relative deprivation in recent times have shown that persons or groups experiencing this state will attempt to take remedial action to

124 See Runciman (1971: 304-5) for an analysis of such a situation.

alleviate it: the choice of action may be either sacred (e.g., conversion) or secular (e.g., revolt).[125] As Rodney Stark (1972: 500) has pointed out, in order for a religious option to be chosen as a solution for a situation of economic deprivation "it is necessary first that a religious perspective is a *plausible option* for the deprived persons in question." While he is concerned with the choice between religious and secular solutions to absolute (not relative) economic deprivation in modern societies (where there are probably more functional alternatives to religion than in early medieval Sind), it is clear that the religious solution of converting to Islam would have been a plausible option among those urban, mercantile Buddhists experiencing relative deprivation in Arab Sind. Since urban, mercantile Muslims did not undergo the same process, the urban, mercantile Buddhists could perceive their condition of relative deprivation as related to their religious category "Buddhist" and not to their class "merchant." As a result, remedial action taken to resolve and ameliorate their situation would readily assume the form of adopting the belief system of the urban, mercantile Muslims.

I am thinking here of conversion as a historical process not simply an event. As a result of the above-mentioned pressures, urban, mercantile Buddhists would have tended to reorient themselves gradually to the milieu of their more successful class counterparts, the urban, mercantile Muslims. Conversion to Islam, then, would occur in time among those individuals who had changed their reference groups. As the socioeconomic status and the ability to amass and reallocate resources increased among the new converts, thus proving the efficacy of the belief system and widening the immediate comparative reference group available, conversion would accelerate among the community of urban, mercantile Buddhists at large.

It should be emphasized that the conversion of urban, mercantile Buddhists would not necessarily entail a sudden or dramatic change in the basic structure of their belief system. The Islamization of the Buddhist converts would have occurred gradually by way of such Muslim institutions as the mosque, the school system, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. In any case, as will become apparent in the next chapter, the prosopographical data suggest an apparent structural continuity in Sind between the form of Buddhism adhered to before conversion and the type of Islam subsequently adopted. The prevalence of a textualist form of literate Islam among the Sindī Muslim religious elite can be seen, at least in part, in the perspective of the antecedent textualism of the Sammitīya Buddhists who formed the largest group of converts.

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125 Glock (1964: 29) thinks that religious resolutions to deprivation are likely to be chosen "where the nature of the deprivation is inaccurately perceived" and hence are more likely "to compensate for feelings of deprivation than to eliminate its causes." That is, religious resolutions are expressive; secular resolutions are instrumentive. For a critique of this argument see Schwartz (1970: 47). The question of secular options for the resolution of relative deprivation is essentially a modern one.

The decline in the Buddhist share of the accumulation of mercantile surpluses would also have contributed to the deterioration of Buddhist institutions within Sind, in particular, the monastic system. The loss of a solid fiscal base was initially the result of new Arab trade patterns which, as noted, bypassed the credit and transport facilities of the monasteries. However, the disintegration of the monastic system must have accelerated as the urban, mercantile Buddhists converted to Islam since large and continuous capital infusions were required to build and maintain monastic structures and institutions. If the monasteries were no longer able to generate sufficient working capital through their own facilities, they would have had to rely increasingly on the laity for their support. The defection to Islam of urban, mercantile Buddhists would limit the capital resources available to the monasteries from the laity to the rural, non-mercantile Buddhists. And the amount of capital available from this source would be substantially less.

Since the monastic system was crucial to Buddhism (it is difficult to conceive of Buddhism without the *saṅgha*), it is clear that the loss of a financially viable monastic system would further exacerbate the already precarious situation of Buddhism in Sind. As the mercantile community began to convert and continued support capital was not forthcoming, monasteries would tend to fall into decay; monks would either emigrate to other parts of the Buddhist world, thus adversely affecting the quality of literate Buddhism in Sind, or be absorbed back into the laity where they would be vulnerable to pressures to convert; and, finally, the Buddhist rural laity would be left without regularized normative institutional support.

While perhaps most important in terms of their financial and social support, the urban, mercantile Buddhists were not the only Buddhists in Sind. Rural Buddhists were adversely affected by both the defection of their urban, mercantile coreligionists to Islam and the collapse of supportive Buddhist institutions. Those rural Buddhists with few urban, mercantile ties would probably have tended to be absorbed into the ritual system, perhaps along caste lines (their comparative reference group), of their rural Hindu counterparts. Alternatively, those Buddhists with ties of kinship, caste, or trade with the urban, mercantile Buddhists who were converting to Islam might well have attempted to maintain or raise their socioeconomic status by converting to the new religion.

Persistence of Hinduism. The radical dissimilarity between the socioeconomic bases of Hinduism and Buddhism in Sind should already be apparent from the previous discussion. In sharp contrast to Buddhism, the primary class strength of Hinduism lay in the non-mercantile rural sector; what commerce existed would have been primarily intra-regional, linked to the traditional exchange networks of the villages. Rural, non-mercantile Hindus would have been less susceptible to conversion than urban, mercantile Buddhists since their socioecon-

omic position was founded on a different basis and in another sector which was not immediately penetrated or challenged by Islamic urbanism and mercantilism. The Arabs preferred to administer the rural regions of Sind indirectly from urban centres through the local dominant caste, often the same Brahmin officials who previously had fulfilled the same function under the Sīlā'ij dynasty. As long as the taxes were forthcoming, the Arabs had little inclination to interfere at the rural level. As a result, rural, non-mercantile Hindus were less likely to experience relative deprivation since, with the exception of the primary governing class, Arab rule did not substantially alter their position for the worse.

Furthermore, unlike the capital intensive and highly centralized Buddhist monastic system, normative institutional Hinduism in Sind was linked to a diffuse network of Brahmin ritual specialists capitalized on a local basis. Due to its broader base, Hinduism would be much less susceptible than Buddhism to a radical dislocution of its fiscal and institutional viability. Buddhism had been adversely affected through the loss of urban, mercantile Buddhists and the decapitalization of the monastic system supportive of normative Buddhism; Hinduism, at least in Sind, did not have a similar dependency, and hence the effect of the defection to Islam of any urban, mercantile Hindus would have been minimalized in the religious system at large. In any case, Hinduism did not rely on the mercantile sector of the economy or on inter-regional commerce for the primary maintenance of its institutions. As a result, given the situation in Sind during the Arab period, the institutional support structure of Hinduism was simply more flexible than that of Buddhism.

Hinduism also proved flexible in developing specific legal procedures in response to the situation posed by the Arab occupation of Sind. This is particularly evident in the *Devala-smṛti*, a terse legal text which was written in Arab Sind sometime between A.D. 800 and 1000 (Kane 1930-62 vol. 2: 390, note 928c), and concerns the various procedures of *śuddhi* ("repurification"). Devala was sitting on the banks of the Indus River when a number of Hindu sages approached him and asked for a ruling concerning the repurification of members of the four castes who had become polluted by association with the *mlecchas* ("non-Aryans"). The text of the *smṛti* contains his perceptions on this vexatious problem, of such importance to Sindī Hindus. Devala outlines a number of expiations and penances, graded according to caste, sex, and length of time in a state of impurity, whereby individuals could be readmitted to the Hindu caste system.

> When persons are forcibly made slaves by Mlecchas, cāṇḍālas and robbers, are compelled to do dirty acts, such as killing cows and other animals or sweeping the leavings of the food (of Mlecchas) or eating the leavings of the food of Mlecchas or partaking of the flesh of asses, camels and village pigs, or having intercourse with their women, or are forced to dine with them, then the penance for purifying a dvijāti that has stayed for a month in this way is prājāpatya; for one who has consecrated Vedic fires (and stayed one month or less) it is cāndrāyaṇa or parāka; for one

> who stays ■ year . . . it is both cāndrāyaṇa and parāka; ■ śūdra who stays (in this condition) for ■ month becomes pure by kṛcchrapāda; ■ śūdra who stays a year should drink yāvaka for half ■ month. The appropriate prāyaścitta should be determined by learned brāhmaṇas when ■ person has stayed . . . for over a year; in four years the person . . . is reduced to their condition (i.e., becomes ■ mleccha and there is no prāyaścitta for him) [verses 17-22, in ibid.: 390-91].

The last clause of this section of the *Devala-smṛti* suggestes that after only four years of *mleccha*-pollution, the individual is himself considered ■ *mleccha* for caste purposes. This certainly is the understanding of the *Prāyaścittaviveka* which holds that only death will purify a caste Hindu after four years of such pollution (ibid.: 391). However, in ■ later section of his *Smṛti* (verses 53-55), Devala provides an exception to the general rule by allowing persons to be repurified even up to twenty years as long as they had not actually performed any of the forbidden items (e.g., killed or consumed cows) themselves (ibid.). But beyond these twenty years, in his view, there would be no further possibility of repurification.

Additional regulations (verses 47-52) were promulgated with regard to the special situation of Hindu women in Arab Sind:

> The women folk of the four orders ■■ well ■■ those of other castes, who happen to become pregnant ■■ a direct consequence of coming in contact with Mlecchas, or who happen to eat the forbidden dishes willingly or unwillingly, would become pure, by observing ■ *kṛchhra sāntāpana* penance and by cleansing the private parts with clarified butter. The child born of such unions should be given away to others and must not be retained. The caste fellows too should reject such children for fear of causing ■ mixture of castes [verse 47, cited in B. N. Sharma 1972: 129-30].

Devala explains his rationale: the half-*mleccha* foetus was treated in legal terms as ■ foreign substance, like a thorn, in the woman's body; when it was removed, the women, after due penance, was readmitted to caste status (verse 51, cited in Puri 1957: 117). The legal status of the child, on the other hand, was seen as ■ condition of impure mixed-caste status (*pratiloma*) and hence could not be retained by either the mother or her caste. Devala gives no indication of what happened to such rejected children; perhaps they were adopted by Muslims.

Brief though it is, the *Devala-smṛti* is the only source written by a Hindu residing in Arab Sind which has survived intact. As a restrictive or normative text, it is difficult to gauge how representative it is of the views of the general population of Sindī Hindus. Nevertheless, it is extremely valuable as a corrective to the standard Arabic and Persian material and for what it tells us of normative Hinduism during the period. In the first place, Devala apprehends the Muslims of Sind in caste terms ■■ both *mlecchas* ("non-Aryans," i.e., barbarians) and *caṇḍālas* ("out-castes," especially those from mixed castes). There is some precedent in Sind for the usage of these terms relative to the Arab Muslims. According to the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 222-23, Cf. 195), the Hindus of Sind explicitly described the Arabs as *chandālān* (the Persian form of the Sanskrit *caṇḍāla*) cow-

eaters (*gāw-khwārān*) at the time of the conquest. Lādī, the wife of the Brahmin Dāhir, was accused by the people of Arōr of having become polluted (*ālūdah*) through her association with the Arab cow-eating *chandālān*. The use of the term here and by Devala is highly significant. The *smṛtis* prohibited any of the higher castes from touching a *caṇḍāla*: if, by chance, anyone did so, even if the polluting touch was by wind or water, he or she had to undergo specific rites of repurification (*Manu-smṛti* 1964 [1886]: 119, 183, 414-15; Cf. Bose 1961-67 vol. 2: 215-25; Kane 1930-62 vol. 2: 81-82). By association, then, the Arabs were perceived in Sind as out-castes with a polluting agency harmful to those they encountered and for which due penance was prescribed.

The term *mleccha*, while not found in the Muslim sources, was used occasionally in the Sanskrit inscriptions of the period with reference to the Arabs. Nāgabhaṭa I, for example, the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler, is said to have defeated a *mleccha* force, who are also called "the destroyers of virtue" (Hirananda 1903-4: 283-84). The reference is clearly to the extensive Arab raids made on North India during the governate of al-Junayd and his successors (Balādhurī 1866: 442-44; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 379-80; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 589-90). The use of the term for the Arabs is also significant. Referring broadly to any foreign group of people not yet Brahmanized, *mleccha* was the usual epithet given the many non-Indian tribes who had invaded or filtered en masse into India, frequently via the Indus Valley: peoples like the Yavanas (Greeks), Ābhīras, Madrakas (the Arabic Mīdh), Hūṇas, Kuṣāṇas, and Śākas.[126] Hence, there was a clear precedent available for preceiving and treating the Arab conquerors of Sind as just another in the long series of "barbarian" tribes to have entered the Indian subcontinent through Sind.

By assimilating the Arab newcomers into the Hindu world view as just another *mleccha* tribe of *caṇḍāla* outcastes, Devala was able to extend the existing caste regulations to the new reality of the Arab occupation of Sind. In so doing, he legitimized the interaction of the Muslim and Hindu communities of Sind, at least from the perspective of the Hindus. If the Arab Muslims were simply another *mleccha* group with their own ethnic gods and rituals, then they could be readily accomodated, indeed defused, within existing caste laws. This had been a successful policy previously: all former invaders of Sind (and there were many) had been assimilated into the caste system and eventually had become Hindu in religion, even though, like the Arabs, they had brought their own religion with them. Since there was no need to perceive the Arab Muslims as a special case, Hindus in Sind could interact or coexist with them if necessary, as long as they took due care to follow established caste principles and procedures. They may

126 For these groups see Prakash (1964), Bose (1961-67 vol. 2.: 238), T.R. Sharma (1978: 149-52). John Hansman (1973) has argued the equivalence of the ancient *meluhha* and *mleccha* with the region of Eastern Mukrān and *magan* withWestern Mukrān.

have been disgusting and barbaric, from the point of view of upper-caste Hindus, but they were not the first or only such group in Sind.

Since the Arab Muslims were perceived as *mlecchas* and *caṇḍālas*, it follows that conversion to Islam was seen primarily as a case of caste contamination. It is even possible that Devala is distinguishing between the two terms: *mleccha* referring to the Arab Muslims and *caṇḍāla* to the indigenous converts, especially since the latter term was used primarily for castes of mixed origins. If this is the case, then conversion would have been seen as the intermixture of caste Hindus with the *mleccha* Arab Muslims, a situation which produced *caṇḍāla* indigenous Muslims. In any case, while Devala makes no distinction between conversion and caste pollution by simple contact, it is apparent that he is referring to the repurification both of Hindus who had become Muslim as well as those who simply had become polluted through association with Muslims.[127]

To the extent that Devala reflects a perception of Islam and of conversion to Islam general in the Hindu community of Sind, there would appear to have been a considerable cognitive dissonance between Muslim and Hindu perceptions of conversion. While the Arab Muslims (not necessarily the indigenous Muslims) may have perceived conversion as entailing a radical change in beliefs and rituals on the part of the convert,[128] the Sindī Hindus may well have perceived conversion in the sense of changing certain rituals or, even more likely, adding other rituals to their own orthopraxy (i.e., as a process of adhesion) simply as a means of accommodating a superior force (in the limited sense of a successfully invading foreign ethnic group). Established caste regulations existed which permitted this form of adhesion and retrieval. Unless the Muslims of Sind could transform such a convert, through the Islamization process, into accepting a form of Islam within a certain permissible range, the discontinuity would remain and conversion would not be permanent.

As a result of the equation of conversion with caste contamination, Devala was able to provide for the repurification (*śuddhi*) of converts to Islam from Hinduism via the extension of previously existing purificatory rites. It is significant that none of these penances was particularly stringent. To take an extreme case, an individual who had been in a *mleccha* state via conversion to Islam for up to twenty years could be repurified by undergoing two *cāndrāyaṇas* ("the lunar penance"): i.e., diminishing his food daily by one mouthful during the dark half of the month, increasing it likewise in the bright half, and bathing daily at the time of the three libations (morning, noon, and evening). This is precisely the same penance required of those individuals who had unwittingly eaten garlic, leeks, or mushrooms, or a twice-born man who had inadvertently swallowed the

127 It is clear from Bīrūnī (1964 [1910] vol. 2: 162-63), who gives the normal North Indian and what appears to be Devala's tradition on this topic, that the repurification is both of caste and religion, the two being inseparable.

128 This certainly is the understanding of the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 136-37).

urine or ordure of a village camel (*Manu-smṛti* 1964 [1886]: 172, 462, 474-75). The most ardous penance was reserved for a woman who had become pregnant, willingly or unwillingly, by a Muslim. This was the *sāntapana kṛcchra* which required the woman to subsist on a diet of cow urine, cow dung, milk, sour milk, clarified butter, *kuśa* grass, and fasting during one day and night (ibid.: 474). This particular penance was the usual one required by the *Dharmaśāstras* for any unnatural sexual act or for stealing an item from another person's house (ibid.: 464, 466).

When the expiation for converting to Islam for up to twenty years is precisely the same as for eating garlic or leeks, the reabsorption of converts was not just a theoretical matter, but very possible. A convert to Islam could easily change his mind and, after performing a few slightly inconvenient penances, return to his original religion and caste. Indeed, Devala displays a remarkable flexibility throughout his *smṛti*, taking a business as usual attitude towards the Arab occupation of Sind.

Devala's solution to the problem of Hindus living in a Muslim state would appear to have been radical. Bīrūnī (d. ca. 442/1050), while noting the minority position (probably that of Devala in Sind) that Hindu converts to Islam could be readmitted to their caste and religion, tells us that his usual Brahmin informants categorically rejected this possibility, a position Bīrūnī regards as normative in Hinduism (1964 [1910] vol. 2: 162-63). That careful historian is surely correct: up to the modern period, Hindu law generally refused to countenance the readmittance to caste and religion of individuals who had abandoned Hinduism. Indeed, it was the rediscovery of the *Devala-smṛti* in the nineteenth century A.D. which gave the modern *śuddhi* movement (aimed primarily at Muslims) its classical referent for reconversion (Jordens 1977: 146, 153). Devala's legal prescriptions for the Hindus residing in Muslim Sind evince a remarkable, perhaps unprecedented in Hindu-Muslim relations in the Indian subcontinent, ability to respond flexibly and creatively to Muslim conquest and settlement. It was this flexibility (which legitimized the interaction of Hindus and Muslims while still guarding against conversion) in combination with the previously mentioned socioeconomic factors which were the primary determinants permitting Hinduism in Sind to remain relatively impervious to the pressures of conversion.

CHAPTER THREE

Sindī Muslims

Introduction

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF post-conquest Islam in Arab Sind is difficult to reconstruct due to the paucity of explicit references in the primary sources. The historians are not of much use here since they were interested primarily in those political events (e.g., the appointment and dismissal of governors) within Sind which were related to matters of concern in the central heartlands. The majority of material directly bearing on religious developments comes from the fragmentary reports of the geographers and travellers visiting Sind who were, in any case, more concerned with topographic or hydrographic information. Indeed, from the point of view of the available sources with information on Sind, the religious history of Islam in the region belongs to a dark age.

As a result, it is not surprising that scholars have turned to the only material of apparent promise: the many biographical dictionaries which occasionally note the names of individuals with a *nisbah* relating to Sind or its towns and regions. It was very tempting, in light of the insufficiency of other materials, to use this onomastic data by assuming that those individuals bearing such a *nisbah* were actually from the province of Sind, and by so doing construct a religious history of the region. It was also, as will become apparent, a task with its own particular kind of impediments which often led its proponents into defending untenable positions.

The history of the study of Sindī nisbahs. The pioneer study of Sindī biographies of the Arab period was undertaken by ʿAbd al-Ḥayy al-Bārīlī (d. 1341/1923) in his influential and voluminous *Nuzhat al-khawāṭir* (1947-70). Following a traditional *ṭabaqāt* method of organization by centuries, ʿAbd al-Ḥayy listed a number of individuals who were either in India or else carried a *nisbah* relative to the area. Since he was not concerned solely with religion or Arab Sind, he also considered political figures and non-Sindī Indians. It is a highly selective list, containing many minor governors of Sind, yet excluding some major personages.[1] He does, however, enumerate more than a dozen individuals with a

1 He lists, for example, Wadāʿ b. Ḥumayd al-Azdī (1947-70 vol. 1: 4), a minor deputy over Qandābīl for the rebellious Muhallabites in 102/720, but neglects the more renowned Muhallabite governor of Sind, Rawḥ b. Ḥātim. He includes Dāʾūd b. Naṣr al-ʿUmānī (ibid.: 8), a minor soldier

Sind-related *nisbah*. As far as the religious history of Arab Sind is concerned, his study is compromised by the small numer of Sindīs discussed, the lack of a critical apparatus, and the reliance on a single source (Sam'ānī), which in turn is not always accurately comprehended.[2] Moreover, there is an implicit assumption that individuals bearing *nisbahs* related to Sind were actually from the region, and this is explicitly confirmed by many of those writing after him and on his authority.

Despite its limitations, 'Abd al-Ḥayy's research showed the way to the Arabic biographical literature and influenced subsequent generations of historians who followed his method of organization (lists of names and verbatim quotes from primary sources) and accepted his list of Sindī scholars as the initial basis for expansion. The line of analysis was cumulative and consisted of constantly expanding lists of individuals with Sindī or Indian connections. It comprises one important approach to the study of post-conquest Islam in Arab Sind which is best represented in recent years by the many erudite volumes published in Arabic and Urdu by the *qāḍī* Abū al-Ma'ālī Aṭhar Mubārakpūrī (1958, 1967, 1968, 1972, 1973, 1975). The *qāḍī* has taken the inclusive method to the extreme, claiming anyone with any conceivable relationship to Sind or Hind, accompained by a very broad definition of what is Sind and an uncritical approach to the primary sources.[3]

The first critical study of Muslim scholars with Sindī *nisbahs* was undertaken by Muhammad Ishaq (1955a) in the initial part of his Ph.D. dissertation (published as *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature*). For the first time, we find the useful distinction between Muslims within Sind and Sindī Muslims abroad.[4] Unfortunately, such a desirable methodological development suffered from the absence of any explicit rationale for differentiating between the two groups. It is not clear why he claims some traditionists personally for Sind and others simply ■■ descendants of Sindīs. It is certainly not on the basis of

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in the Thaqafite army (mentioned once in the *Chachnāmah* 1939: 241), but not more important Thaqafite commanders such as Dhakwān b. 'Ulwān al-Bakrī. The principle governing inclusion in his lists is not apparent.

2 For example, 'Abd al-Ḥayy divides Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī into two different individuals, one of whom he places in the fourth century (1: 65) and the other in the sixth century (1: 100) following Sam'ānī (1912: fol. 543b) who notes that "he was one of the most elegant of the *'ulamā'* I have met." 'Abd al-Ḥayy reads this ■■ a statement of Sam'ānī (d. 562/1166), while it is actually that of Manṣūrī's student al-Ḥakīm al-Nīsābūrī (d. 405/1014). See Ibn Ḥajar 1911-13 vol. 1: 272.

3 Mubārakpūrī (1958) considers the following *nisbahs* Sindī (not just Indian): Dāwarī (pp. 104, 168), Bāmiyānī (pp. 77, 231), Būqānī (pp. 193, 206), Kulhī (p. 207), Kasī (p. 165). He even claims the famous historian and polymath Abū al-Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī for the city of Nīrūn in Sind (pp. 207-10), adding the *nisbah* Sindī to his name. For ■ critical analysis of Mubārakpūrī (1958) ■■ Karīm (1959).

4 Ishaq 1955a: 22-44 ("Hadith Literature in Sind under the Arabs") and pp. 197-215 ("Cultural Activities of the War-Prisoners"). Ishaq tacitly assumes that those individuals bearing a Sindī *nisbah* were "war-prisoners" rather than, say, merchants.

confirmation of Sindī origin in the text since, for example, he includes Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn al-Daybulī (i.e., al-Dabīlī) among those Muslims actually in Sind ("born at Daybul") and Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī among the "war-prisoners" outside of Sind both on the basis of the *nisbah* (ibid.: 35, 207-9), even though Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (1931 vol. 8: 328) informs us that Khalaf was personally a Sindī. The only apparent dissimilarity between the two groups is that those he considers actually from Sind bear the local *nisbahs* Daybulī, Manṣūrī, and Quṣdārī, while those he deems Sindīs abroad just carry the *nisbah* Sindī. It is not evident why this should make a significant difference: surely individuals with first generation *nisbahs* belong initially to the same class, at least in the absence of textual confirmation that they were actually from Sind.

Recent years have seen a resurgence of interest in Sindī *nisbahs* (Pathan 1961, 1968, 1974; Nadawī, n.d.: 66-69; Shah 1966; N. A. Baloch 1977; Mallick 1979). The section on the culture of Arab Sind contained in the University of Karachi Ph.D. dissertation of 'Abd Allāh Mubashshir al-Ṭirāzī al-Ḥusaynī (1971) is perhaps the most comprehensive of these studies. Ḥusaynī has combined the two lines of analysis, dividing the Sindī biographies, following Ishaq, into those within and outside of Sind, and then listing them according to century, following 'Abd al-Ḥayy and Mubārakpūrī. There are certain problems with his approach to the biographies, some of which are shared by the previously mentioned works and some of which are unique to Ḥusaynī. For example, he emulates Mubārakpūrī by including in his list anyone with any conceivable connection to greater India. But while Mubārakpūrī is partially justified insofar as he is writing of India, Ḥusaynī is concerned specifically with culture in Sind and what he terms Sindī *'ulamā'*. Hence it is difficult to accept his claims for Arab Sind of all individuals bearing the *nisbahs* Hindī, Kābulī, Dāwarī, Bāmiyānī, Malībarī, Kasī, Būqānī, Kulhī, and Bāsandī, to which he affixes the further *nisbah* Sindī.[5] He does not provide a rationale for accepting these scholars as Sindī and, indeed, it is highly unlikely that they were.

Ḥusaynī not only has difficulty establishing just who is a Sindī, but also differentiating Sindīs within Sind from those abroad. No justification is either given (like Ishaq) or discernible (unlike Ishaq) for inclusion in either of his lists. In a somewhat haphazard manner, he considers some individuals to be personally from Sind and others not solely on the evidence of the name. He regards, for example, Sindī b. Abī Hārūn (the teacher of Musaddad) as one of the *'ulamā'* actually residing in Sind, and yet considers Sindī b. Abān and Sindī b. 'Abdu-

5 See Ḥusaynī 1971: 263-318 passim for examples. Under the rubric "Sindī *'ulamā'* in Sind and abroad" (pp. 309-18), he lists twenty-six individuals with a Hindī *nisbah*, with the unproven assumption that they were Hindus from Sind. This inability to focus on Sind, the topic of his thesis, is found throughout. For example, he writes about "the progress of sciences and arts in Arab Sind" (pp. 242-63), including such topics as ethics, logic, medicine, alchemy, mathematics, but is unable to discuss any of the matters relative to either Sindīs or Sind.

wayh among those living abroad.[6] The evidence in all three cases is onomastic. The lack of precision and methodological clarity in his two lists and in his biographies in general seriously compromises his discussion of Sindī culture.

General trends in the analysis of Sindī nisbahs. It can be seen that the modern study of Sindī biographies has contained some major errors, both in methodology and in actual research. Perhaps the fundamental problem emerges from the use which has been made of Sindī *nisbahs* in order to establish that Sind—with its local centres at Daybul, Manṣūrah, and Quṣdār—was an important Islamic centre in the classical period. Thus, for example, Mumtaz Pathan has argued on the basis of Sindī biographies that Sindīs not only absorbed the Arab Muslim culture, but "made additions to it by contributions which stand unique in the history of human civilization" and hence "the country of Sind had played a leading role in the development of cultural and literary activities in the Arab world and produced some of the leading figures in religious studies and literature" (1974: 141, 143). While the desire to establish the importance of Arab Sind as a major Islamic centre is no doubt understandable as a reaction to colonial British scholarship which uniformly disparaged the Muslim culture of Sind,[7] it is unfortunate since it led to the use of questionable data and reached untenable conclusions.

The Islamic centre thesis normally was supported through the expansion of the numbers of Muslims bearing a *nisbah* related to Sind. There are many drawbacks to such an inclusive approach to the biographical data. In the first place, there is a definite lack of clarity in establishing just what is Sind and who is a Sindī. In general, a very broad criterion was adopted which allowed the proponents of this viewpoint to claim for Sind anyone mentioned, even if peripherally, relative to India or with a *nisbah* broadly related to India or any of its adjoining regions, including areas of Central Asia and South India. Assuming wrongly that Kābul was part of Arab Sind, scholars have claimed for Sind (even adding the *nisbah* Sindī) such eminent Muslims as Imām Abū Ḥanīfah, Imām Makḥūl al-Shāmī, and the Mu'tazalite 'Amr b. 'Ubayd al-Baṣrī.[8] The *nisbah*

6 Compare ibid.: 268 with pp. 280, 307. The same is true of Daybulīs (compare p. 269 with pp. 288, 291, 293, 295) and Manṣūrīs (compare p. 270 with p. 284). He also lists a Bāsandī (p. 269), a Bāmiyānī (p. 269), and a Hindī (p. 270) as actually from Sind where the only evidence again is the *nisbah* which, in any case, does not apply to Sind. It should be noted that Ḥusaynī takes a very broad definition of *'ulamā'*, including not only religious scholars, but politicans, rebels, and even concubines.

7 A typical colonial view is that articulated by McMurdo (1834: 244): "There assuredly does not exist on the face of the earth a people, among whom the use of letters is known, where so little attention is paid to the acquirement of learning; . . . They are certainly the most bigoted, the most self-sufficient, and the most ignorant people on record." This patronizing and disparaging attitude was adopted in the standard textbook histories of Sind compiled during the British period (Carter 1916; Dayaram 1920).

8 See, for instance, Ḥusaynī 1971: 274-78, 281-82; Mubārakpūri 1958: 183-89, 243-44; 1975: 649-51, 654-56. Kābul was neither governed by Arabs from Sind nor considered part of Sind by the classical Arab historians and geographers. It may, however, have been primarily Indian (not Sindī) in culture before the Muslim conquest (see Bosworth 1965).

Hindī has been considered equivalent to Sindī,[9] despite the clear distinction between Hind and Sind observed by classical Arab and Persian authors.[10] This procedure allowed all Indians to be treated as Sindīs and all things Indian as Sindī, thus permitting the claim that, for example, the Arabic *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*, a famous collection of animal fables based on the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, was "the first philosophical work of Sind which found its way into Arabic literature" (Pathan 1968: 117).[11]

Furthermore, the inclusive method has operated with a lack of critical control. This often takes the form of a general unwillingness to accept cogent evidence for a preferable non-Sindī form of a *nisbah*. In many cases, an individual is claimed for Sind if any source gives a Sind-related *nisbah* even if other earlier sources prefer a non-Sindī form of the *nisbah*. Thus, one finds Dabīlīs considered Daybulīs,[12] all Manṣūrīs traced to Manṣūrah in Sind,[13] and assorted Sarīs and Sayyidīs read as Sindīs.[14] The urge to expand on the small population of available Sindīs has blinded certain historians to possible duplications. One

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9 N. A. Baloch, in his introduction to Bīrūnī's *Ghurrah* (1973: 27), reflects that "*al-Hindi* is to be interpreted broadly as 'Indian', i.e. a non-Arab Sindhian delegate from Sind who might have been either a Hindu or a Muslim by faith." This has led him to the unusual assertion that Muḥammad al-Fazārī and Ya'qūb b. Ṭāriq spoke in Sindī to a certain Hindī in Baghdād, "because this was the language with which the Arab scholars were more conversant" (p. 28). If a conversation took place in Baghdād, it would surely have been in Arabic and not Sindī (or an Indian language).

10 The Arab geographers differentiated between Sind, the region of the Indus, and Hind, the rest of the Indian subcontinent. Yāqūt (1866-73 vol. 3: 166-67), for example, defines Sind as "the country between al-Hind and Mukrān and Sijistān . . . some include Mukrān as part of it." Indeed, Mukrān was normally considered part of Sind (see Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 170-80; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 317-30; Balādhurī 1866: 431-46). Also see Le Strange (1966 [1905]: 331), Maqbul Ahmad (1971), and Afshār (1975).

11 For a similar claim see Bede (1973: 207). The work was translated into Arabic by Ibn al-Muqaffa' (d. ca. 139/756) from a sixth century A.D. Pahlavi version. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* and can hardly be claimed for Sind alone. See Brockelmann (1978) for further discussion and bibliography.

12 The Qur'ān reciter Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Hārūn Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Dabīlī (d. 370/980) is given as Daybulī by Khaṭīb (1931 vol. 5: 113-14) which is accepted by Ishaq (1955a: 35), Mubārakpūrī (1958: 63-65), and Mallick (1979: 159), all of whom consider him personally from Sind. Ḥusaynī inexplicably divides this individual into two and lists him among scholars within Sind (1971: 269) and outside of Sind (ibid.: 297), subsuming the former in the third and the latter in the fourth century A.H. It is apparent from Dhahabī (1962: 293) and Ibn Ḥajar (1964-65 vol. 2: 575) that the preferred form of the *nisbah* is Dabīlī and that the reference is to Dabīl al-Ramlah and not Daybul. In addition, Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad Abū al-Qāsim al-Dabīlī is given the *nisbah* Daybulī by Sam'ānī (1912: fol. 236b), which is accepted by 'Abd al-Ḥayy (1947-70 vol. 1: 67), Ishaq (1955a: 36), Mubārakpūrī (1958: 157), Ḥusaynī (1971: 295), and Mallick (1979: 163). The correct form is indicated by Dhahabī (1962: 293) and Ibn Ḥajar (1964-65 vol. 2: 575).

13 Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū Bakr al-Manṣūrī (d. 422/1033) is claimed for Manṣūrah in Sind by Mubārakpūrī (1958: 58) and Ḥusaynī (1971: 270) on the basis of the biography given by Sahmī (1950: 85). However, since Sahmī is writing of the notables in Jurjān, the *nisbah* may well refer to the city of Manṣūrah in that region and not in Sind (see Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 4: 665).

14 The *nisbah* of Hibbat Allāh b. Sahl al-Sayyidī (d. 533/1138) is read as Sindī by Mubārakpūrī (1958: 263-64) and Ḥusaynī (1971: 308) on the basis of Dhahabī (1955-58 vol. 4: 9, 119). The

finds the same two Sindīs uniformly doubled to four distinct individuals (each supplied with a different date),[15] and a scribal or typographical error occurring in Abū Bishr al-Dawlābī (giving Abū Ma'shar Yaḥyá al-Sindī for Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ al-Sindī) taken as evidence of two different Sindī traditionists, both with the same *nisbah, kunyah,* and teachers.[16] In these examples alone, six Sindī traditionists appear where there should rightly be three.

There is a general assumption in many of these studies that all individuals bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* were important as individuals to the development of Islam within Sind, regardless of whether they ever resided in the region. Attempts have been made (notably by Ishaq 1955a; Shah 1966; Ḥusaynī 1971) to overcome this problem by dividing the Sindīs into those actually from Sind and those living abroad. While such a distinction is certainly valid, those few scholars who have attempted it have done so in a desultory manner, claiming individuals for one or the other class on the same evidence of the *nisbah*, with no regard for textual confirmation of Sindī origin. In the absence of an explicit rationale guiding the differentiation, it is impossible to accept that those Sindī scholars designated in the secondary literature as being actually from Sind were in fact so.

Finally, the analysis has tended to focus sharply on the quality of Islam in Arab Sind, as evidenced by the quantity of *nisbah* holders. One finds long onomastic lists but seldom any aggregate analysis of the population of *nisbah* holders to indicate long-range trends and preoccupations. To a certain extent then, the prosopographical research horizon was constrained by the reduction of the analysis to the simple level of proving the importance of Sind in the religious history of Islam.

Recent criticism of the use of Sindī nisbahs. Given these difficulties, it is not surprising that in recent years the validity of using Sindī *nisbahs* has been ques-

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correct form of the *nisbah* is given by Dhahabī in another work (1962: 373) and by Subkī (1964 vol. 7: 326-27). In another case, Mubārakpūrī (1968: 271) has read Sindī b. Ziyād b. Abī Kabshah al-Saksakī for the well-known Sarī b. Ziyād (see Crone 1980: 96).

15 Ishaq (1955a: 38-39) and Pathan (1974: 146-47) give Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūrī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī as two different traditionists, both of whom studied under Abū al-'Abbās b. al-Athram and taught al-Ḥakīm al-Nīsābūrī, lived in 'Irāq and Fārs, and were *qāḍīs* of Manṣūrah in Sind and *imāms* of the Dā'ūdī legal school (see appendix A for references). Ishaq (1955a: 212-13) reads Sindī b. 'Abduwayh and Sahl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī as two different traditionists (the former dying ca. 215 A.H. and the latter ca. 225 A.H.), both of whom were *qāḍīs* of Hamadhān and Qazwīn, and had the same teachers, students, and *kunyah*. One can empathize with the difficulties of Ishaq here since this individual has been referred to in the primary literature variously as Sindī (or al-Sindī) b. 'Abduwayh (Ibn Ḥajar 1907-9 vol. 1: 97; Sahmī 1950: 340, 343; with the *nisbah* al-Rāzī added by Ibn Abī Ḥātim 1952-53 vol. 4: 201; al-Dhuhlī by Ibn Ḥajar 1911-13 vol. 3: 116; and al-Dahakī by Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 235 and Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 2: 634), Sahl b. 'Abduwayh al-Rāzī (Ibn Ḥajar 1964-65 vol. 2: 753; Dhahabī 1962: 373), Sahl b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Dhuhlī (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 314), and Sahl b. 'Abd Rabbih al-Rāzī al-Sindī (Ṭabarānī 1968 vol. 1: 97). The onomastic confusion is cleared up by Ibn Abī Ḥātim (1952-53 vol. 4: 318).

16 Mubārakpūrī (1958: 267) and Ḥusaynī (1971: 280) following Dawlābī (904 vol. 2: 120). See appendix A for references to Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sindī.

tioned. But, as we shall see, these arguments also raise uncertainties and are not completely convincing. The first such critique was directed at the alleged Indian influences on Ṣūfism posited as being communicated through Abū 'Alī al-Sindī to his companion Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī.

The Abū 'Alī al-Sindī controversy. While the possibilities of Indian influence on Biṣṭāmī via Abū 'Alī have been mooted for many years (Nicholson 1975 [1914]: 17; Horten 1927-28 vol. 1:4), the most active case was made by R. C. Zaehner in a thesis elaborated in two books, *Mysticism: Sacred and Profane* (1969 [1957]) and *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (1969 [1960]). Basing his argument on Abū 'Alī's, *nisbah*, Zaehner concluded that he was from the Indian region of Sind; that he was a convert (since Biṣṭāmī taught him "how to perform the obligatory duties of Islam"); and since a convert from Sind, then necessarily a convert from Hinduism; and if Hindu, then surely acquainted with Śaṅkaran monism, which "ultimate truths" he communicated to Biṣṭāmī. The starting point of his argument rests on Abū 'Alī's Sindī *nisbah*.

Zaehner's thesis elicited a heated and prolonged response from Islamicists, particularly A. J. Arberry (1957, 1962). Among other things, it was claimed that the *nisbah* might not refer to the region of Sind but to a small village of the same name in Khurāsān or even to Sindīyah, a village near Baghdād (Arberry 1957: 90; 1962: 35; Samarrai 1968: 218-20). The argument is surely tendentious. If one accepts that the *nisbah* is actually Sindī (and not some variation such as Suddī, as suggested by Samarrai [ibid.]), then it is highly unlikely that it refers to any place other than the well-known trans-Indus region of Sind.[17] As far as the village of Sindīyah is concerned, Ibn Khallikān writes:

> *As-Sindiya* is the name of a village situated on the (*canal called*) Nahr Isa, between Baghdad and al-Anbar. To indicate that a person is a native of this place, they say Sindawani (not *Sindī*), lest he should be taken for a native of Sind, the country which lies on the border of India [1843-71 vol. 3: 94 (italics of translator); Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, n.d. vol. 2: 147-48].

Thus, if the village of Sindīyah were intended, the *nisbah* would be Sindawānī and not Sindī. To accept the cogency of the argument that the *nisbah* Sindī refers to some place other than the normal ("the country which lies on the borders of India"), it would be necessary to adduce some evidence of it actually being used for another place. No such evidence has been forthcoming.

Arberry's second major criticism relative to the Sindī *nisbah* is that even if it refers to the province of Sind and Abū 'Alī himself was from Sind, he was probably a descendant of the Arab conquerors and not a convert, the implica-

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17 The *nisbahs* given under "al-Sind" by Sam'ānī (1912: fol. 313b-314), Yāqūt (1866-73 vol. 3: 166-67), and Ibn al-Athīr (n.d., vol. 2: 148) certainly refer to the Arab province of the trans-Indus. See above note 10 for the distinctions between Sind and Hind.

tion being that he would not then be acquainted with Hindu concepts. After all, he argues, "many descendants of the original Arab conquerors of Sind, accomplished as early as 713, would have called themselves al-Sindī" (1962: 37). It is tempting to follow Abdur Rabb (1971: 206) and accept Arberry's analysis here, but the primary sources do not facilitate such a conclusion. Arberry's own examples do not bear up to scrutiny. The tradition that Najīḥ al-Sindī was white and of "Himyarite stock" is explicitly given by Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 10: 419) as ■ minority tradition ("a few say that his origin was from Ḥimyar"); it may derive from the fact that he was a *mawlá* ("client") of Umm Mūsā al-Ḥimyariyah (Khaṭīb 1931 vol. 13: 431; Ibn Sa'd 1905-40 vol. 5: 309; Ibn Qutaybah 1969: 504). In any case, there is a general consensus among the primary authorities (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 313b; Khaṭīb 1931 vol. 13: 427; Dhahabī 1955-58 vol. 1: 235) that Najīḥ was a black, manumitted slave from the province of Sind who was unable, despite his scholarship, to pronounce Arabic correctly (giving Muḥammad b. Qa'b instead of Ka'b). If he had been ■ descendant of Arab settlers, it is highly unlikely that he would have mispronounced Arabic. In the case of the poet Abū 'Aṭā' al-Sindī, whose father was from Sind, it is also improbable that he was an Arab descendant since he (and not just his father) pronounced Arabic poorly and, moreover, was a black *akhrab* slave—a designation, according to Jāḥiẓ, for Sindī slaves with slit ears.[18] Indeed, there is not a single individual with a Sindī *nisbah* who can definitely be proven to have been a descendant of the Arab conquerors. While it is true that a few Sindīs carried a *nisbah* of tribes known to have been important in the conquest, they could as well be *mawālī* and hence descendants of converts who entered into ■ client relationship with that tribe.[19]

Nevertheless, those who refute the Abū 'Alī al-Sindī thesis are quite correct on the hazards of asserting that a particular individual was personally from Sind solely on the basis of the *nisbah*. This may or may not be true. In the case of Abū 'Alī, there is nothing in the text which either supports or detracts from that conclusion. However, it is also necessary to conclude that there is not sufficient evidence to prove that the *nisbah* Sindī refers to some place other than the region of the Indus or that the individual bearing the *nisbah* was necessarily a descendant of Arab settlers.

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18 Ibn Khallikān (1843-71 vol. 3: 438-39) notes that he was an *akhrab* slave and gives "having the ears slit" as the meaning. Jāḥiẓ (1938-45 vol. 3: 434) calls the Sindī in general a *ṣaḥib al-khurbah*, "ear-piercer." His observation is confirmed specifically for Sind by Maqdisī (1877: 482). This practice might well indicate a convert origin if it refers to the well-known yogi custom of ear-splitting which was done to open ■ mystical channel for the adept. A group of Saivites (closely connected to the Pāśupaṭa) were termed Kānphaṭa (from *kān*, "ear" and *phaṭa*, "split") after this practice (see Briggs 1973 [1938]).

19 Thus, for example, 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Ḥammād al-Thaqafī al-Sindī (d. ca. 180/796), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Tamīmī al-Manṣūrī (d. ca. 280/990), Khalaf b. Sālim al-Muhallabī al-Sindī (d. 231/845). See appendix A for references. While none of the individuals bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* can be proven to have been descendants of the Arab conquerors or settlers, none can be proven definitely to be converts or descendants of converts either.

The Islamic centre controversy. Yohanan Friedmann has recently published an article (1974) which, inter alia, assesses the use which has made of Sindī *nisbahs* in the secondary Urdu literature. Friedmann argues, basically from Sam'ānī's *Ansāb*, that those scholars with Sindī *nisbahs* had little if anything to do with Sind itself since their contribution to Islamic thought took place outside of Sind. He even suggests that the occurrence of ■ Sindī *nisbah* only means that people of Indian (not just Sindī) origin were in the Middle East. Writing about Sam'ānī's list of scholars with Sind-related *nisbahs*, he concludes that

> . . . the brief biographies of these persons can only indicate that Muslims of Indian extraction participated (in the third and fourth centuries) in the development of Islamic learning in the major cultural centres to which they migrated. One can hardly draw from this material any valid conclusions concerning the degree to which the study of *ḥadīth* flourished in Sind itself. It may even be argued that al-Sam'ānī's data indicate that among Sindīs interested in *ḥadīth* studies there was ■ distinct trend to migrate from their native land to the major centres of the Islamic world which certainly offered better opportunities for the study of *ḥadīth* [ibid.: 663].

The first part of the argument has been seen before—that the *nisbah* Sindī might not refer to the Indus province of Sind. Here, Friedmann implies that it is geographically vague and simply means Indian. This assumption is also implicit in the Islamic centre theorists (who are criticized by Friedmann) who feel free to use all Indian *nisbahs* with reference to Sind. As earlier, this assumption must be rejected as unproven and unlikely. The classical Arab geographers were quite clear about what they meant by Sind (the Arab occupied province of the trans-Indus) and Hind (the rest of the subcontinent).

Moreover, Friedmann is perhaps unfortunate in his choice of examples to illustrate the non-connection of Sind-related *nisbahs* to region: Khalaf b. Muḥammad al-Daybulī was definitely in Sind at ■ relatively mature age since he received ■ tradition in Daybul (*bi-al-Daybul*) from 'Alī b. Mūsá al-Daybulī, who was thus in Sind himself (Khaṭīb 1931 vol. 8: 333); Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī was from the city of Manṣūrah in Sind and actually returned there after a period of study abroad (Shīrāzī 1970: 178); Ja'far b. al-Khaṭṭāb al-Quṣdārī was originally from the city of Quṣdār in Sind (*huwa min al-Quṣdār*) although he studied elsewhere (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 455b); and Shu'ayb b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad is properly read as Dabīlī and not Daybulī (Dhahabī 1962: 293; Ibn Ḥajar 1964-65 vol. 2: 575). While the other three individuals cannot be placed definitely in Sind, it is interesting that Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī did transmit *ḥadīth* to his compatriot Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Daybulī (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 236b). This latter traditionist had other, admittedly indirect, Sindī connections in addition to his teacher: e.g., he studied under 'Abdān b. Aḥmad with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulī, under Ibn Khuzaymah with Muḥammad b. Rajā' al-Sindī, under al-Firyābī with Aḥmad b. al-Sindī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulī, and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Daybulī, and under Abū Khalīfah with Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Daybulī.

Despite his examples, Friedmann's analysis is to the point. As noted previously, much of the research which has been carried out to prove the importance of Sind as an important Islamic centre has had serious defects; not least among these is the attribution of a personal importance to the religious history of Sind to an individual solely on the basis of the *nisbah*. But this is not to say that there is no general relationship between *nisbah* and region.

Nisbah and region. Recent prosopographical research on geographical and occupational *nisbahs* for regions other than Sind has underlined the difficulty of attributing an individual to a specific region or profession solely on the basis of the *nisbah*, while still maintaining the general relationship between region and *nisbah*, at least in aggregate on the part of populations (Cohen 1970; Bulliet 1970; 1979; ch. 2). Hayyim J. Cohen, for example, has studied in considerable detail the occupational and geographical *nisbahs* of the classical period. He observes:

> As for those who did bear a geographic *nisba*, or even those who are described in the source as coming from a given town, it is hard to tell whether this means that they were born there, that they had lived there, or perhaps only that their fathers or forefathers had been born there [1970: 24].

While this is specifically the case with individuals, it also produces the possibility of distortion in the case of populations (especially where the numbers are small). Nevertheless, despite his reservations, Cohen did proceed to draw on the *nisbahs* to show that there was a rough correlation between region and occupation. He found, for example, that scholars with a Kūfan *nisbah* tended to be silk merchants more often than scholars with Baṣran *nisbah* which "corroborates the well-known fact that Kūfah was an important centre of silk manufacture and embroidery" (ibid.: 27). He also found significant correlations for Khūzistān and silk, Khurāsān and cotton, followed in the fourth century A.H. with Egypt and cotton.

That is, there is good evidence to accept a general relationship between *nisbah* and region on the part of populations, although not necessarily individuals. Cohen's observations concerning occupational *nisbahs* are suggestive:

> Since the custom of adopting a family name based on a *nisba* was, as we have seen, relatively new, and since such names were not likely to hold out in the family for too many generations without an actual association with the occupation, one may assume that in many cases the occupational *nisba* of the particular scholar reflected accurately at least, if not his own occupation, then perhaps the economic background in which he had grown up [ibid.: 24].

The same thing, perhaps, can be suggested for geographical *nisbahs*. While a Sind-related *nisbah* may not mean that the individual in question actually came from Sind, it probably minimally reflects the ethnic background in which the person was raised. Without some association with the object of the regional *nisbah* (Sind), then it would probably disappear, as Cohen suggests is the case with

occupational *nisbahs*. Those bearing such a *nisbah* would have perceived themselves or been perceived by others as being related generally to a group called Sindī.

Indeed, there is compelling evidence that the Arabs recognized such category of descent as Sindī and sharply differentiated it from other descent categories. Jāḥiẓ, for example, attributes certain qualities to ▪ group termed Sindī who were, in his view, particularly adept at money-changing (*ṣarf*).[20] Similarly, he asserts that, in sharp contrast to the Zanj, Sindīs residing in the central heartland observed the customs of their ancestors and consequently did not attempt to alter their social position by revolting (1964 vol. 1: 212). While this allegation may or may not be true, it does show that Sindīs were apprehended as a distinct category, sharing and perpetuating certain recognizable traits. They were also, as in the case of Abū Ma'shar al-Sindī and Abū 'Aṭā' al-Sindī, perceived as mispronouncing Arabic in ▪ certain identifiably Sindī way, ▪ mode of pronunciation which is even today characteristic of the inhabitants of Sind.[21]

The self-perception (and its attendant ambivalencies) of being Sindī is illustrated by an anecdote of the scholar al-Fatḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī who, on being criticized in Iṣfahān by a drunk Arab noble, replied: "I am following the customs (*āthār*) of your ancestors, while you are following the customs of my ancestors" (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 314). It is clear from his retort that his ancestors were not Arabs (i.e., he came from a convert family) and, moreover, that being ▪ Sindī was in some ways recognizably disreputable. This would appear to be reflected in Sha'bī's dictum: "Love him whom you see doing good, even if he be a Sindī" (Ibn Sa'd 1905-40 vol. 6: 173).

Finally, there is good reason to conclude that the category (as opposed to the individual) Sindī was in fact related to the region of Sind and its political, religious, and socio-economic history. Perhaps the strongest evidence for accepting such ▪ relationship is that the occurrence of Sindī *nisbahs* declines sharply in the fourth/tenth century and disappears almost entirely in the fifth/eleventh century (see below table 2 and graph 1). This is precisely the period of political and

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20 Jāḥiẓ 1938-45 vol. 3: 434. Also note Jāḥiẓ (ibid.: 435) for ▪ account of the qualities of Sind and attributes of Sindīs. It is apparent that by Sind he ▪ the Indus province and not just India since when writing of Sindī eunuchs (ibid. vol. 1: 118) he specifies the group brought by Mūsá b. Ka'b. The reference is clearly to the first effective 'Abbāsid governor of Sind (134-38/751-55), Mūsá b. Ka'b b. 'Uyaynah al-Tamīmī (Balādhurī 1866: 444; Ibn Khayyāṭ 1966 vol. 2:439, 441, 463; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 429; Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 80-81).

21 Abū Ma'shar Najīḥ pronounced *kāf* as *qāf* (Khaṭīb 1931 vol. 13: 427; Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 313b), while Abū 'Aṭā pronounced *shīn* ▪ *sīn*, *jīm* and *ẓa'* as *zay*, *'ayn* ▪ *alif*, *ḥa'* ▪ *hā'*, *ḍād* as *dāl*, and *ṭa'* as *tā'* (Ibn Khallikān 1843-71 vol. 3: 438-39; N. B. Baloch 1949). According to Marzubānī (1964: 228), the Sindī father of the famous Baṣran grammarian Abū al-Faḍl al-'Abbās b. al-Faraj al-Riyāshī (d. 257/870) pronounced the name of his son Abbās (rather than 'Abbās). Schimmel (1973: 2) indicates that Sindīs still pronounce *shīn* as *sīn* and *jīm* as *zāy*. It would appear that Sindīs were also recognizable by their dress. The Mālikite jurist Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tamīmī al-Abharī (d. 375/985) had ▪ dream in which he saw an ascetic dressed like ▪ Sindī (Tanūkhī 1971-73 vol. 3: 194).

economic instability in Sind during the later Habbārids, Sāmids, and the subsequent Ghaznavid invasions. If there were no general relationship between region and *nisbah*, then one would expect the incidence of Sindī *nisbahs* abroad (if not necessarily the occupational pattern) to remain relatively constant over time, and this is not the case. As Cohen has suggested, a *nisbah* was not likely to survive long without some association with its object.

In addition, the relationship between *nisbah* and region is strongly supported in the case of Sind by the evidence of the collated biographies, when analyzed and compared to the independent accounts directly bearing on the region. As we shall see, the vast majority of individuals bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* are traditionists (73 percent of all individuals, 85 percent of all non-Shī'ites), which is supported by data specifically for the province of Sind. Moreover, a significant portion of these traditionists were *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* ("partisans of tradition"), and this too is directly noted for Sind by Maqdisī (1877: 481) who travelled there and hence was in a position to know. In consequence, it is reasonable to conclude, as Cohen does for other regions, that there is indeed a general relationship between a Sindī *nisbah* and the region of Sind on the part of populations although not individuals.

Methodology. In light of the foregoing, the remainder of the chapter is organized with the following considerations.

1. The population utilized in the aggregate analysis includes all individuals who carried a Sind-related *nisbah* and had a religious function. I have not considered such individuals as the poet Abū 'Aṭā' al-Sindī, the politican Sindī b. Shāhik, or the many Sindī wives of notables on the grounds that this chapter is concerned solely with religion, not simply Sindīs abroad. Individuals whose ancestors may have come from Sind are not included unless they retained a Sindī *nisbah*, on the basis of the aforementioned rationale that the retention of *nisbah* reflects a Sindī identification, even if not necessarily individual and direct. Thus, I have excluded from consideration such individuals as Awzā'ī who may or may not (it is debatable) have been descended from Sindī slaves, but did not retain a Sindī *nisbah*.

2. The *nisbahs* utilized in this study have been limited to those unequivocally related to the region of Sind: i.e., Sindī, Daybulī, Manṣūrī (but only when specified relative to the city of Manṣūrah in Sind), and Quṣdārī (variation Quzdārī). All other geographical *nisbahs* (e.g., Hindī, Kābulī, Bāsandī, Būqānī) have been rejected on the grounds that they either were not or cannot definitely be established as being within the limits of Arab Sind. Also discarded are the unsupported tribal or caste *nisbahs* of Zuṭṭī, Aḥmarī, Aswarī, and Baysarī (except in the single case of a textual confirmation of Sindī origin) since the group could be Indian as well as Sindī. Where there exists a reasonable doubt over the correct form of a *nisbah* (e.g., Dabīlī rather than Daybulī), the individual in question has been excluded from consideration.

3. Chronologically, the scope of the enquiry extends from the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest (93-96/711-14) until the end of the fifth/eleventh century. I have extended the period covered by the onomastic data beyond that of Arab Sind proper in order to demonstrate long-range trends.

4. The biographies have been divided into two sections: (a) those individuals for whom there is textual confirmation that they were at some time in the region of Sind, and (b) those individuals for whom only the *nisbah* is available.[22] Both sections are considered the population for analysis. Out of a total of seventy biographies, there is textual confirmation of a Sindī connection for only eleven (15.7 percent). This is a relatively low percentage and indicates the marginal nature of many of the careers.

5. In this chapter, the population of Muslims bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* are termed Sindī Muslims. It is always to be contrasted with Muslims in Sind.

6. The method of analysis can be termed prosopographical in the sense that it is the aggregate analysis of the individuals of a specific population (those bearing Sind-related *nisbahs*) to disinter salient characteristics of the group as a whole and over time. Hence, the concern is with general trends and not with particular individuals. Specifically, I am interested in ascertaining whether the group bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* had a particular religious preoccupation and whether this changed significantly during the period of Arab rule. I am also interested in the chronological rise and decline of the population as a whole. It has been necessary to confine sharply the analysis to these general areas due to limitations in the data base. The quantity and quality of the available biographical material on Sindī Muslims is simply inadequate to draw long-range conclusions on tribal affiliations, occupations, and other similar matters.

7. After collating the biographies in order to determine the religious preoccupations of the population over time, the data have been confronted with the geographical, historical, and epigraphic information directly bearing on the region of Sind. This is a crucial part of the analysis. By so doing, I hope to derive, as far as possible, a relatively clear, although necessarily general, picture of the Islamic preoccupations of Sindī Muslims and Muslims in Sind throughout the Arab period. There is no doubt of the difficulties of this approach, but as Sir Ronald Symes put it in justifying prosopography, "one uses what one has, and there is work to be done" (cited by Graham 1974: 137). And there is very little to work with for post-conquest Islam in Arab Sind.

Traditionists

The vast majority of Sindī Muslim religious elite of whom there is record, both inside and outside of Sind, were traditionists (see table 1). Indeed, fifty-one of

22 The relevant individuals and sources are listed in appendix A. An expanded discussion of the Sindī biographies can be found in the author's McGill University Ph.D. dissertation (1984: 389-423). It has been omitted here for reasons of space.

the total seventy Sindī Muslims (72.9 percent of all individuals, 56.0 percent of all professions named) were traditionists of some type in the simple sense that they transmitted *aḥādīth* ("traditions"). The biographical data become even more revealing if one includes in this group the ten individuals who were transmitters of Shī'ite traditions, in which case sixty-one of the seventy (87.1 percent) were traditionists. Excluding the Shī'ites, fifty-one of the remaining sixty Sindī Muslims (85.0 percent) were traditionists. Clearly, the major Islamic orientation of Sindī Muslims was the study and transmission of traditions.

Table 1

Religious Occupations of Sindī Muslims
*150-500/767-1106**

Occupation	*In Sind*	*Other*	*All*	*Percentage*
Traditionists	9	42	51	56.04 (72.86)
Mystics/Ascetics	2	11	13	14.29 (18.57)
Shī'ites	0	10	10	10.99 (14.29)
Jurists	3	4	7	7.69 (10.00)
Qur'ānic Scholars	1	5	6	6.59 (8.57)
Judges	1	1	2	2.20 (2.86)
Theologians/ Philosophers	0	2	2	2.20 (2.86)
Total	16(11)	75(59)	91(70)	

*The total and percentage is of occupations; the total and percentage in parenthesis is of individuals.

Table 2

Religious Occupations of Sindī Muslims by Fifty-Year Periods According to Date of Death
*150-500/767-1106**

	Date of Death							
Occupation	150-200	200-250	250-300	300-350	350-400	400-450	450-500	Total
Traditionists	8	13	12	9	6	2	1	51
Mystics/Ascetics	2	4	1	3	2	1	0	13
Shī'ites	5	2	3	0	0	0	0	10
Jurists	0	1	0	3	2	1	0	7
Qur'ānic Scholars	0	2	0	1	3	0	0	6
Judges	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Theologians/ Philosophers	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Total	15(13)	24(17)	16(16)	17(12)	14(8)	4(3)	1(1)	91(70)

*The total is of occupations; the total in parenthesis is of individuals.

This occupational preference remains relatively constant throughout the period of Arab rule in Sind. While the number of traditionists noted in the literature declines precipitously in the fourth/tenth century, as do all religious professions, the traditionists still remain the major grouping of Sindī Muslims (see table 2). One does not find an interest in *fiqh* ("jurisprudence") developing among Sindī Muslims in the later period, as happened elsewhere in the Middle East. In fact, the second largest group of Sindī Muslims comprises mystics and ascetics (thirteen individuals) and the third largest Shī'ites (ten individuals), not jurists (seven individuals).

Not only were the majority of Sindī Muslims studying abroad traditionists, but the data suggest a similar occupational predominance within Sind. Among those eleven Sindī Muslims who were definitely in Sind at some period of their lives, nine (81.8 percent) were traditionists (see table 1), a percentage somewhat higher than that of the group as a whole. Moreover, the astute geographer and traveller Maqdisī directly confirms an interest in the study of traditions within the Arab province of Sind (1877: 481). As a result, a discussion of Sindī Muslims and Islam in Sind must necessarily take the traditionists as its focal point. All other religious preoccupations are insignificant in comparison.

There are several questions of fundamental importance concerning the study of *ḥadīth* among Sindī Muslims and within Sind. First, what type of traditionists were the Sindī Muslims? Second, how was the interest in the study of *ḥadīth* transmitted to Sind? Third, when did traditionism peak and decline among both Sindī Muslims and Muslims in Sind? Fourth, does the peak correspond to the growth of regional schools of tradition? Finally, why was there such a predominant interest in the study of traditions among Sindīs? Each of these questions will be discussed in turn. The analysis of the reasons for the decline in the incidence of traditionists will be reserved for the next chapter.

Aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth. The first point that becomes apparent from the biographical data is that a significant number of Sindī Muslims were not simply *muḥaddithūn* ("traditionists") in the sense that they transmitted traditions, but belonged to the group known as *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* ("partisans of tradition"), which is to say those Muslims who "based their decisions on the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth rather than on consensus of opinion, analogy, and personal opinion."[23] That is, the group under consideration not only transmitted traditions but maintained the primary importance of *ḥadīth* texts (rather than community tradition or individual reasoning) in questions governing the lives of Muslims.

The Sindī orientation toward an *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* system is evidenced by the names of the teachers and students of Sindī traditionists. Twenty-three of the Sindī traditionists were either teachers or students of individuals listed in Ibn

23 B. Dodge in Ibn al-Nadīm 1970 vol. 1: 545 note 1. The *aṣḥab* (or *ahl*) *al-ḥadīth* position has been discussed by Goldziher (1967-71 vol. 2: 80-85), Guillaume (1924: 69-76), and Schacht (1950: 253-57; 1964: 34-36; 1960a).

al-Nadīm's short account of the *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth* (1970 vol. 1: 545-62).[24] While it is true that there is a certain amount of plasticity in such lists,[25] there is confirmation for the presence of significant numbers of "partisans of tradition" in the province of Sind itself. Maqdisī, who visited Sind before 375/985, specifies directly and unequivocally that "most of them are *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*" (1877: 481). This, unfortunately, is the extent of his information; he neither names particular individuals nor outlines the group's activities within Sind.

The geographer's observation is confirmed, however, by three Kufic inscriptions which have recently been uncovered in the ruins of the Arab period mosque at Banbhore, the site of Daybul (Abdul Ghafur 1966), and support an *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* position vis-à-vis the Mu'tazilites. According to Ibn Qutaybah (cited in Watt 1973: 296), all the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* are in agreement that "God will be seen on the day of resurrection" and that "the Qur'ān is the speech of God not created . . . in every circumstance, recited, written, heard, remembered, is uncreated." Inscription number four from Daybul would appear to be referring to the first of these positions since it quotes the Qur'ān (28: 29-30) concerning Moses and the burning bush; a verse used to justify the actual vision of God since Moses was able to see him.[26] The fact that this public inscription was perforated in order to be attached to the mosque walls suggests the importance of this doctrine to the Daybulese. Two further inscriptions from Daybul, which probably originally formed a single unit, refer to the Qur'ān as the word of God (*kalām allāh*) and God as the Speaker (*mutakallim*) who speaks through it (Abdul Ghafur 1966: 87-88 and plates 26b and 27). This no doubt reflects the position of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* concerning the Qur'ān as the uncreated speech of God.

The transmission of ḥadīth learning to Sind. The secondary literature concerned with traditionism in Arab Sind has focussed its attention primarily on identifying the agency communicating an interest in the study of traditions to Sind. Some scholars have attempted to locate the initial transmitters in the early pre-conquest Companions (*ṣaḥābah*) and Associates (*tābi'ūn*) who participated in the initial raids on Mukrān and the frontier of Sind.[27] Indeed, there is an implicit assumption that the further back in time towards the life of the Prophet one can trace the link, the more potent was the agency for transmission for Sind itself. Mubārakpūrī (1968: 27), for example, cites a report of the Imām al-Bukhārī (d. 256/869) that during the lifetime of the Prophet, five Companions were dis-

24 See below appendix A nos. 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 21, 22, 27, 35, 36, 43, 47, 48, 50, 51, 54, 57, 58, 61, 63, 64, 68.

25 Consider, for instance, the observations of Watt (1973: 5).

26 The inscription can be found in Abdul Ghafur (1966: 85-86 and plate 28). For Muslim discussion of the vision of God see Watt (1973: 245-48).

27 There is a large secondary literature on the Companions who participated in these early raids on Mukrān. See, for example, Ishaq (1955a: 1-20; 1955b; 1945), N. B. Baloch (1946), N. A. Baloch (1980), Fatimi (1963), Rashid (1963), N. Ahmad (1966), and Nadvī (1928).

patched to Nīrūn in Sind where they engaged in the transmission of *ḥadīth* and converted many of the town's inhabitants. None of the Companions is named, however, and the incident is reported only by Bukhārī. Given the intense interest of early Muslim historians in establishing the whereabouts and activities of the Companions, if the incident were historical, then surely it would be mentioned elsewhere. Hence, while the report is interesting for what it reveals of later conversion precedence claims, it is of little use in establishing an agency for the transmission of an interest in *ḥadīth* to Sind. Moreover, while it is true that a number of Companions and Associates actually participated in the early raids on Mukrān and Sind, it is doubtful that they could have contributed meaningfully to *ḥadīth* transmission to Sindīs during these temporary and predatory incursions. If so, it would have been only in those areas of Western Mukrān which were occupied permanently before the final Thaqafite conquest of the Indus Valley.

It has been suggested (Ishaq 1955a: 22-23) that an interest in the study of *ḥadīth* was brought to Sind by certain Arab traditionists who participated in the initial Thaqafite conquest and subsequently settled in the region. Ishaq gives the single example of Mūsá b. Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī who came to Sind at the time of the conquest, settled at Arōr, and was "highly learned in the Sunna of the Prophet" (ibid.: 23; also see 'Abd al-Ḥayy 1947-70 vol. 1: 44-45; Mubārakpūrī 1975: 606-7; Ḥusaynī 1971: 263). It should be pointed out, however, that the evidence of Mūsá's knowledge of traditions comes solely from a title given him in the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 235): "Sword of the Sunnah and star of the law" (*sayf al-sunnah wa-najm al-sharī'ah*). The second/eighth century is much too early for such an honorary title; it was probably added by his direct descendant Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Thaqafī from whom 'Alī b. Ḥāmid al-Kūfī received the Arabic manuscript which he translated as the *Chachnāmah* (ibid.: 9-10). Apart from the title (which does not necessarily make him a traditionist), Mūsá b. Ya'qūb was appointed *qāḍī* and *khaṭīb* of Arōr and founded a dynasty of Thaqafite *qāḍīs* of Arōr and Bhakkar which survived down to the seventh/thirteenth century (Qānī' 1971: 55). Neither he nor any of his descendants were noted for the transmission of traditions.

Although Ishaq gives only the one example as support for his theory, a close reading of the sources for the Thaqafite conquest in conjunction with the biographical literature does reveal the presence in Sind of several individuals also noted as traditionists. According to the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 101), 'Aṭīyah b. Sa'd al-'Awfī was the commander of the right wing of the Thaqafite army after the conquest of Armābīl in 93/711. There is no doubt that this is the renowned traditionist and proto-Shī'ite 'Aṭīyah b. Sa'd b. Junādah al-'Awfī (d. 111/729). The entire account of his sojourn in Sind is given by Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 2494), Ibn Sa'd (1905-40 vol. 6: 212-13), and Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 7: 224-26). Secondly, the minor traditionist Zā'idah b. 'Umayr al-Ṭā'ī definitely participated in the conquest of Multān (or Iskalandah near Multān) where he is said to

have proven his valour.[28] Thirdly, the trustworthy (*thiqah*) traditionist Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 149/766) took part in the battle between the Arabs and Dāhir and the subsequent siege of Brahmanābād in 93/711.[29]

It is also possible that Muḥammad b. Ziyād al-ʿAbdī, a major Thaqafite commander, is the reliable Baṣran traditionist Muḥammad b. Zayd al-ʿAbdī. That Bishr b. ʿAṭīyah al-Thaʿlabī, a Thaqafite officer and associate of Muḥammad b. Ziyād, is the traditionist Shamir b. ʿAṭīyah b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Asadī al-Thaʿlabī;[31] and that Ziyād b. al-Ḥawārī al-ʿAbdī, a minor Thaqafite official, is the Baṣran traditionist Zayd b. al-Ḥawārī al-ʿAmmī.[32] Ziyād returned from Sind with a certain Abū Qays al-Qaysī who, in turn, might be the traditionist Abū Qays Ziyād b. Rabāḥ, known as Abū Qays al-Qaysī al-Baṣrī.[33]

It is very difficult, however, to establish a connection between the traditionists in the Thaqafite army and the later traditionists bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* or to assign them a role in the transmission of an interest in *ḥadīth* studies to Sind. For one thing, they are only mentioned relative to military or diplomatic matters attending the conquest of Sind, never even broadly to either religion or traditions. Zāʾidah performed feats of bravery in his youth during the conquest of Multān; ʿAṭīyah commanded a section of the army; Kahmas fought in the battle against Dāhir; Abū Qays carried the decapitated head of Dāhir back to Ḥajjāj. Secondly, none of them are said to have settled in Sind, and indeed they surely did not since they are noted later in other places. In consequence, any postulated influence would have been limited to the very short period of the actual military conquest of Sind (93-96/711-14). While one can speculate that they did in fact have a religious role, at least to the other Arab Muslims in the Thaqafite army, it is doubtful that they could have been instrumental at this early date in passing on either traditions or an interest in the study of traditions to the conquered Sindīs.

The next level of analysis carries some promise. If it can be proven that certain traditionists settled in Sind during the post-conquest period, and engaged in

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28 Balādhurī (1866: 439) has him proving his "valour" at Multān, while the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 236), giving his name as Rāndah b. ʿUmayrah al-Ṭāʾī, specifies Iskalandah, a fort adjacent to Multān. For his activities as a traditionist see Ibn Saʿd (1905-40 vol. 6: 218).

29 Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 308) relates an eyewitness account of the Arab battle with the forces of Dāhir told by Kahmas b. al-Ḥasan to his son. For his role as a traditionist see Ibn Khayyāṭ (1967: 221), Ibn Saʿd (1905-40 vol. 7ii: 31), Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 8: 450-51), and Ibn Abī Ḥātim (1952-53 vol. 7: 170-71).

30 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 160, 174, 180, 218. The identification with the traditionist is aided by Ibn Saʿd (1905-40 vol. 7ii: 8) who gives the variation Muḥammad b. Ziyād (rather than Zayd). As a traditionist see Ibn Abī Ḥātim (1952-53 vol. 7: 256) and Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 6: 696).

31 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 174. Bishr and Shamir are easily confounded in the Arabic script. For Shamir see Ibn Saʿd (1905-40 vol. 6: 212).

32 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 187. For the traditionist see Ibn Abī Ḥātim (1952-53 vol. 3: 560-61) and Ibn Mākūlā (1962-67 vol. 3: 216).

33 *Chachnāmah* 1939: 187. For the traditionist see Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 3: 366-67) and Dawlābī (1904 vol. 2: 88).

ḥadīth transmission while there, then there is a good likelihood of ascertaining at least a partial agency of transmission. However, here too there are difficulties. Ishaq (1955a: 22-28) has isolated six post-conquest bearers of *ḥadīth* studies to Sind. On closer examination, however, while two of these individuals may have played a role, four could not have. As noted previously, Mūsá b. Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī, the *qāḍī* of Arōr, was not a traditionist. Yazīd b. Abī Kabshah al-Saksakī, ■ minor traditionist and governor of Sind, died eighteen days after reaching Sind (96/714) and could not have had much impact on the study of *ḥadīth* in the region.[34] Al-Mufaḍḍal b. al-Muhallab, also a minor traditionist, merely fled to Sind where he was killed at Qandābīl during the roundup of the Muhallabites following the collapse of the revolt of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab.[35] Modern scholars generally consider al-Rabī' b. Ṣabīḥ al-Sa'dī al-Baṣrī the first major traditionist to have come to Sind and assign him ■ primary role in the development of *ḥadīth* studies in the region (Ishaq 1955a: 26-28; 'Abd al-Ḥayy 1947-70 vol. 1: 31-32; Zubaid Ahmad 1968 [1946]: xxxi, 11; Nabi 1962: 7). There is no evidence, however, that he was ever in Sind. He did accompany ■ naval raid made by the Arabs on Bārbad (Barada in Kathiawar), ■ city in India, in 159/775, and died at sea on its return to Baṣrah the following year.[36] It is of course possible that the fleet stopped at the Sindī port of Daybul on its way to India, but the sources do not say so. Even if this were the case, his stay would not have been long enough to warrant any influence in Sind. Even in Bārbad, it is highly unlikely that Rabī' would have been able to contribute to the transmission of an interest in traditions, since the inhabitants of that plundered city would probably not have been immediately receptive.

There are, however, five individuals who may well have played a role in transmission, since they were in post-conquest Sind for a period of time and were traditionists. Three of these individuals were also governors of Sind during the Umayyad period. 'Imrān b. al-Nu'mān al-Kalā'ī, a joint governor of Sind from 97/715 to 99/717, was ■ minor traditionist who taught 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (d. 181/797);[37] 'Amr b. Muslim al-Bāhilī, a minor traditionist, was the

34 Yazīd's governorship over Sind is noted by Balādhurī (1866: 441), Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 324) and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 588-89). See Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 11: 354-55) for his abilities ■ a traditionist.

35 For Mufaḍḍal's death in Qandābīl see Balādhurī (1866: 442), Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 334), Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 2: 1410-12). For the Muhallabite revolt see Gabrieli (1938).

36 The maritime expedition is noted by Balādhurī (1866: 369), Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 460-61), and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 6: 46). It has been discussed by Omar (1969: 61-64). Janaki (1969: 61-64) identifies Bārbad with Barada in Gujarat. To be sure, the fleet did have Sindī connections since the army consisted of, among others, Asāwirah and Siyābijah, tribes of Sindī or Indian origin (Balādhurī 1866: 373-75; Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 460-61) and its commander, 'Abd al-Malik b. Shihāb al-Mismā'ī, was appointed deputy governor of Sind shortly thereafter (ca. 161/777), although only for ten to twenty days (see Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 491; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 2: 479-80).

37 According to Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 324), the only source to place him in Sind, he was joint governor with Ḥabīb b. al-Muhallab. For his interest in traditions see Bukhārī (1941-64 vol. 3ii: 426).

governor of Sind from 99/717 to 101/719;[38] and Muḥammad (or Yazīd) b. 'Irār (also given as 'Izzān and Ghazzān) b. Aws al-Kalbī, who was twice governor of Sind (120-22/737-39 and 126-29/743-46) where he died and was buried, was also a minor traditionist.[39]

Two merchant-traditionists also are known to have travelled to Sind. Isrā'īl b. Mūsá Abū Mūsá al-Baṣrī, a student of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), immigrated to Sind during the late Umayyad period and became known as *nazīl al-Sind*.[40] Unfortunately, it is not known when he reached Sind or what he did after his arrival; the sources are only concerned with his earlier remarkable career as a traditionist in Baṣrah. At a considerably later date, Ibrāhīm b. Mālik Abū Isḥāq al-Bazzāz al-Baghdādī (d. 264/877), a traditionist of some renown, is said to have travelled to Sind regularly for the purpose of commerce.[41]

It is very difficult to establish a direct link between these traditionists and later Sindī traditionists. Like the earlier traditionists who accompanied the Thaqafite army, none of these individuals are mentioned relative to either religious activities in general or *ḥadīth* transmission in particular while in Sind. However, in contrast to the earlier group, they did reside in Sind for a period of time subsequent to the conquest, and consequently the possibility of their inculcating an interest in *ḥadīth* remains. Moreover, it is reasonable to conclude that those traditionists who came to Sind maintained the interest in the study and transmission of traditions which they brought with them. It is highly unlikely that their actions while in Sind would be at dramatic variance with their actions elsewhere. The problem is to establish an explicit connection. If there were a direct personal influence, then one would expect that those traditionists who visited Sind would appear in the *isnāds* of early Sindī traditionists. But they do not.

To extend the analysis, perhaps a tentative connection might be accepted if the students of a traditionist definitely known to have been in Sind had themselves had Sindī students. That is, it might serve as evidence that the traditionist in Sind had sent his Sindī students abroad to study with his previous non-Sindī students. However, this is only partly the case. Isrā'īl b. Mūsá's student Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/777) had two Sindī students, one of whom definitely came from Sind; two other non-Sindī students of Isrā'īl, Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah (d. 198/

38 For 'Amr's governorship over Sind see Balādhurī (1866: 442), Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 329, 342), and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 4: 589-90, vol. 5: 54-55). For his role as a traditionist see Ibn Khayyāṭ (1967: 288) and Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 8: 105).

39 His governorship over Sind are noted by Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 2: 375), Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 388, 399-400, 407), Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 2: 1839), and Ibn Ḥabīb 1954 vol. 1: 184). His role as a traditionist is noted by Ibn Ḥajar (1911-13 vol. 5: 338). For the many variations of his name consult Kalbī (1966 vol. 1: 293, vol. 2: 423), Ibn Mākūlā (1962-67 vol. 2: 564-65, vol. 6: 188), and Wüstenfeld (1966 [1852-53] vol. 2: 312).

40 Dhahabī (1963 vol. 1: 208) reads *nazīl al-Sind*, although Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 1: 261) has *nazīl al-Hind*.

41 His business in Sind is noted by Ibn Abī Ḥātim (1952-53 vol. 2: 140). Also see Khaṭīb (1931 vol. 6: 186) and Ibn al-Jawzī (1938-39 vol. 5ii: 46).

813) and Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān (d. 198/813), each had a single Sindī student, one of whom was personally from Sind.[42] 'Imrān b. al-Nu'mān's student Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) had two Sindī students,[43] and his *Kitāb al-birr wa-al-ṣilah* ("Book of Piety and Charity") was transmitted by Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Daybulī (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 236b). However, this type of connection is extremely tenuous; these non-Sindī traditionists are not obscure. The fact remains that none of the traditionists who can be placed definitely in post-conquest Arab Sind had a single Sindī student whose name has been preserved in the sources.

As a result, the available data are simply insufficient to establish the precise agency transmitting an interest in the study of *ḥadīth* to Sind. All that can really be said is that there were a few traditionists in Sind, both during the conquest and subsequently. This at least indicates a religious climate in early Arab Sind even if a more precise connection is not discernible. Whatever the agency, it is apparent that an interest in *ḥadīth* did develop among Sindī Muslims not long after the Arab conquest. The Sindī affiliations of the initial Sindī Muslims (those dying in the period 150-200/767-815) are stronger than usual: four of the eight traditionists of this period definitely came from Sind.[44] Thus their initial interest in traditions may have been stimulated in Sind, but by whom it is impossible to say, although the five traditionists noted above have the strongest claims for attention. Unless new sources are forthcoming, however, the question of the precise agency for the transmission of an interest in the study of *ḥadīth* must remain undecided.

The chronology of traditionism in Sind. The timetable of traditionism in Arab Sind and among Sindī Muslims has been an issue of some interest to modern scholars. Ishaq (1955a: 28-44), in particular, has articulated a clearly-stated theory concerning its rise, climax, and decline which has generally been accepted by subsequent historians. There are several parts to Ishaq's chronological theory. First, he perceives a two century lag between the time of the initial Thaqafite conquest and a golden age in the study of *ḥadīth* in the fourth/tenth century. He attributes this interval to two factors: the geographic isolation of Sind from the central heartlands and the lack of internal security under the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid governors. The isolation and anarchy argument is important and reoccurs as Friedmann's (1977) explanation of why Arab Sind never developed as an Islamic centre and as Rizvi's (1978: 110) reason for the absence of mystics in Arab Sind. In Ishaq's scheme, the establishment of the in-

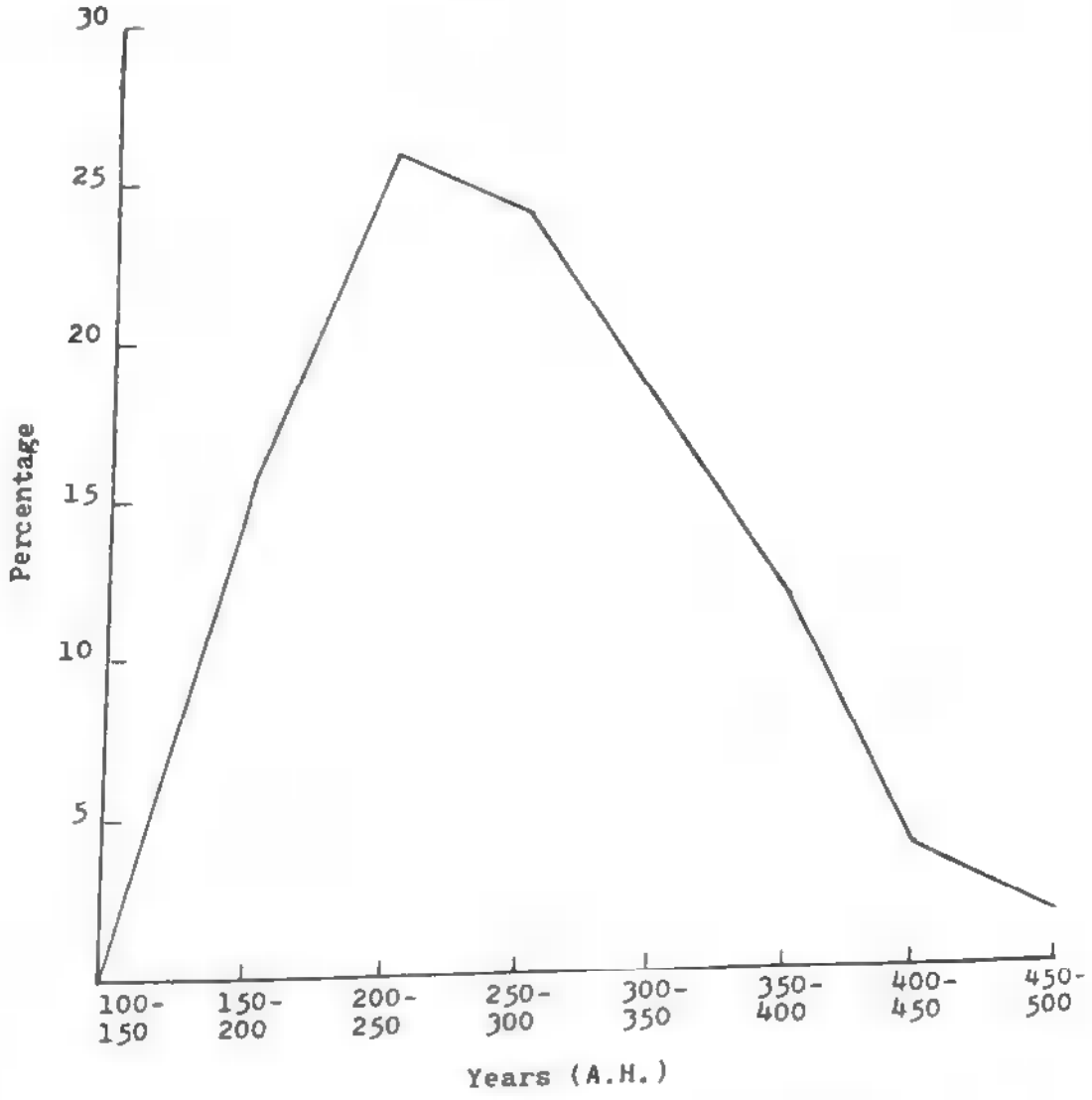
42 Sufyān al-Thawrī taught Yazīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baysarī (who was actually from Sind) and 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sindī; Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah taught Rajā' b. al-Sindī; Yaḥyá b. Sa'īd al-Qaṭṭān taught Khalaf b. Sālim al-Sindī. See appendix A for references. However, it should be pointed out that, according to Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 1: 261), al-Azdī maintained that it was Abū Mūsá al-Yamānī and not Abū Mūsá [Isrā'īl] al-Baṣrī who recited traditions to Sufyān al-Thawrī. This is certainly the case in an *isnād* preserved by Abū Nu'aym (1932-38 vol. 4: 72).

43 Ibn al-Mubārak taught Rajā' b. al-Sindī and Sindī b. Abī Hārūn. See appendix A for references.

44 See appendix A nos. 1, 5, 10, 11.

dependent Habbārid and Sāmid governments at Manṣūrah and Multān counteracted the anarchy in Arab Sind; the resultant internal security brought about prosperity and allowed the development of independent regional centres for the study of *ḥadīth* at Daybul, Manṣūrah, and Quṣdār in the fourth/tenth century. Finally, Ishaq sees this golden age of traditionism in Sind being destroyed solely through the actions of the Ismā'īlīs.

The biographical data do not lend support to these chronological contentions. Graph 1 gives the Sindī traditionists in fifty year periods according to dates of death from 100/718 to 500/1106, as a percentage of total traditionists (excluding Shī'ites). As can readily be seen, the death-dates of Sindī traditionists evince a sharp increase after the Arab conquest, rising to a peak in the third/ninth



Death-Dates of Sindī Traditionists by Fifty-Year Periods, 100-500/718-1106, ■ ■ Percentage of Total Traditionists (Excluding Shī'ites)

century. There is no apparent chronological gap between the time of the conquest and the fourth/tenth century. Traditionists bearing Sindī *nisbahs* start appearing in the Middle East not long after the Arab conquest of Sind. Najīḥ al-Sindī must have been in Medina not long after the conquest since he met (although he was too young to transmit from) Abū Imāmah b. Sahl who died around 100/718; Sindī b. Shamās would have been in Baṣrah before 110/728 when his teacher Muḥammad b. Sīrīn died, and Abū al-Sindī Suhayl b. Dhakwān, an early resident of Wāsiṭ, and Isrā'īl b. Mūsá were both active in the late Umayyad period.[45] Moreover, as previously mentioned, the Sindī connections of the early traditionists were particularly strong; there is textual evidence that four of the eight came from Sind.

In consequence, it is not necessary to look for explanations for "the slow growth of Ḥadīth learning in Sind" (Ishaq 1955a: 28) in the supposed anarchy and isolation of the region. In any case, it is not at all clear why the geographic isolation of Sind posited for the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries should not be operative in the following century. Surely Sind was as spatially isolated in all three centuries. Moreover, it is difficult to see how the establishment of independent dynasties in Sind would lead to an increase in cultural communication between Sind and the central heartlands. On the contrary, one could reasonably expect less cultural contacts between the Muslims of Sind and Muslims elsewhere under an independent Sindī dynasty than under a government ruled from Baghdād.

Nor is there compelling evidence that Sind had more internal security in the fourth tenth century than in the preceding two centuries. The only apparent evidence of insecurity is the rapid circulation of governors of Sind during the early 'Abbāsid period.[46] But should one take this as an indication of insecurity or anarchy in Sind? This was a period of rapid circulation of governors in all parts of the 'Abbāsid empire. While it is true that during the caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809), Sind had eleven governors (two of whom were only temporary replacements and one of whom died before reaching Sind), during the same period Baṣrah had seventeen, Mecca fifteen, Medina eleven, and Kūfah and Yaman each ten.[47] Surely one cannot argue that this was a peri-

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45 See appendix A for references.

46 Ishaq gives no evidence for the supposed insecurity of Sind during the first two centuries. Friedmann (197[illegible]: 316) believes "the frequent change of governors was one of the main reasons for the instability of Arab rule in Sind." He also cites tribal feuds and the conflict with local non-Arabs as contributory factors.

47 See Lassner (1980: 89) for the non-Sindī governors. The governors of Sind during this period were Sālim al-Yūnusī (or al-Burnusī), Ibrāhīm b. Sālim al-Yūnusī (a temporary replacement), Ishāq b. Sulaymān b. 'Alī al-Hāshimī, Ṭayfūr b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mānṣūr al-Ḥimyarī, Jābir b. al-Ashʿath al-Ṭā'ī, Sa'īd b. Salm al-Bāhilī (represented by his brother Kathīr in Sind), 'Īsá b. Ja'far b. Manṣūr al-Hāshimī (represented by Muḥammad b. 'Adī al-Taghlibī in Sind), 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alā' al-Ḍabbī (a temporary replacement), Ayyūb b. Ja'far b. Sulaymān al-Hāshimī (died before reaching Sind), and Dā'ūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī.

od of insecurity and hence little religious learning in Mecca or Baṣrah, both of which had more governors during the same period than Arab Sind. Moreover, following Hārūn, there was a period of fairly long-ruling governors of Sind in the Muhallabites (184-216/800-31) and Barmakids (216-27/831-41).[48] Indeed, as Hugh Kennedy has noted (1981: 76), the longest period of tenure of any early 'Abbāsid governor was that of Dā'ūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī (184-205/800-20) in Sind.

Not only was there no two century lag after the Arab conquest, but the peak period of *ḥadīth* study was not at all coeval with Habbārid and Sāmid rule in the fourth/tenth century. If a golden age did exist, at least in terms of percentages of traditionists noted in the biographical dictionaries, then it rightly belongs to the third/ninth century (see graph 1). The death-dates of Sindī traditionists reach a peak around 250/864, and thereafter evince a steep decline, accelerating in the course of the fourth/tenth century. If the Habbārids and Sāmids had a positive impression on the study of tradition, then surely one would observe an increase in the number and percentage of Sindī traditionists during the period of their rule. On the contrary, the major decline in the incidence of Sind-related *nisbahs* occurs precisely during this period.

Central to the concept of a fourth/tenth century apogee in the study of *ḥadīth* in Sind is the theory of the development of local schools of tradition at Daybul, Quṣdār, Manṣūrah, and even Multān (Ishaq 1955a: 28-44; Pathan 1974: 146-51; Qureshi 1962: 44-45; Mallick 1979). Indeed, the chronological conclusions of Ishaq are based primarily on the tacit assumption that all Daybulīs, Manṣūrīs, and Quṣdārīs were actually from Sind and all Sindīs were not, regardless of textual confirmation of a personal connection with the region of Sind. While there is no doubt that local *nisbahs* for traditionists start appearing regularly in the fourth/tenth century (nine of fifteen traditionists from this period have a local *nisbah*), seven of the nine are Daybulīs while only two are Manṣūrīs.[49] Thus,

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See Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 2: 499-500), Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 493-94), Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 609), Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 6: 121), and Ibn Qutaybah (1969: 407). The circulation of Sindī governors is no more acute than that of other regions during the 'Abbāsid period. During the caliphate of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), Sind had nine governors (two of whom were temporary deputies, and one of whom was dismissed before reaching Sind) compared to nine for Medina, ten for Jazīrah, and six each for Baṣrah and Mawṣil. During the caliphate of al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75), Sind had six governors compared to six for Mecca, eleven for Baṣrah, and seven each for Medina, Jazīrah, and Mawṣil. The number of Sindī governors appointed is probably inflated due to the practice of the incumbent governor appointing a temporary replacement (often a relative) to serve until the actual 'Abbāsid nominee arrived in Sind. The circulation of Sindī governors to and from the central heartlands would appear to indicate considerable control over Sind by the 'Abbāsids and not anarchy.

48 That is, Dā'ūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī, Bishr b. Dā'ūd al-Muhallabī, Mūsā b. Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, and 'Imrān b. Mūsā al-Barmakī. See Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 2: 500, 508), Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 494, 532, 557, 585), Balādhurī (1866: 445-46), Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 1100-1), Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 6: 166, 362, 406, 409-10), Ṭayfūr (1949: 130).

49 See appendix A nos. 2, 3, 7, 14, 21, 37, 39, 48, 50.

while a case can be made for the study of *ḥadīth* at Daybul (or by Daybulī Muslims), this is not equally true of Manṣūrah, Quṣdār, or Multān.

Ishaq, for one, has given an overly optimistic account of the study of *ḥadīth* in the city of Manṣūrah:

> Here Traditionists engaged themselves in the pursuit of their own Science. Classes in Ḥadīth were held in different mosques of the city. Scholars were found to compile works on Ḥadīth literature [1955a: 37-38].

Such a conclusion is not warranted on the slim evidence of two Manṣūrī traditionists, one of whom was primarily a Dā'ūdī jurist and the other a Qur'ān reciter.[50] It is also difficult to sustain the argument of an independent school of tradition at Quṣdār on the evidence of a single traditionist, Sībawayh b. Ismā'īl (d. ca. 460/1067).[51] Nor is there support in the biographical data for Sulaymān Nadvī's assertion that during the Arab period there were scores of traditionists in the city of Multān (1929: 303; also Qureshi 1962: 44; Durrani 1980: 253). There is not a single Multānī among the traditionists; indeed, the *nisbah* itself is unknown in the Arab period.[52] As a result, it is necessary to conclude that, with the possible exception of Daybul, the numbers involved do not warrant the assumption of distinct regional schools of tradition emerging in Sind during the fourth/tenth century.

The attractions of ḥadīth study for Sindī Muslims. There can be little doubt that the study of traditions was the major religious preoccupation of Muslims in Sind and Sindī Muslims in all periods of Arab rule in Sind. Moreover, as noted, a significant portion of the Sindī traditionists belonged to the group known as *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, who were well-represented in Sind itself. What could have been the attractions of tradition for Sindī Muslims? If one accepts Arthur L. Greil's view (1977) that preexisting cognitive styles must be taken into account in understanding the form of religion adopted through conversion, then perhaps one should examine the type of Islam which prevailed in Arab Sind and among Sindī Muslims in the light of the preexisting non-Muslim religions of Sind.

In their particular perception of Islam, the *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth* were characterized by their populism, literalism, and textualism. As Marshall G. S. Hodgson has observed regarding the first of these traits:

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50 See appendix A nos. 2 and 14. The books which Pathan (1974: 146) and Ishaq (1955a: 37-39) allege were written by Aḥmad al-Manṣūrī on *ḥadīth* more likely concerned Dā'ūdī jurisprudence since Ibn al-Nadīm (1970 vol. 1: 532) refers to the books with reference to Manṣūrī's role as a Dā'ūdī jurist and *imām*.

51 See appendix A no. 60 for references. Sam'ānī (1912: fol. 455b) does refer to another Quṣdārī, Ja'far b. al-Khaṭṭāb, but he is designated a jurist (*faqīh*) and ascetic (*zāhid*) not a traditionist (but see Ishaq 1955a: 41).

52 The only scholar mentioned in the primary sources who was actually from Multān is Hārūn b. Mūsá al-Azdī, an Arab poet renowed for his elephant poetry. However, while a resident of Multān, he did not bear the *nisbah* Multānī. See Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 3: 14-16) and Jāḥiẓ (1938-45 vol. 7: 75-77, 114-16).

> In no other movement did the traits of populism appear more strongly developed than in that of the Ḥadīth folk. . . . Anthropomorphism in tales of God, presenting Him in the image of a human being, and the legendry of spectacular deeds which prophets could achieve at God's hands, served to support a sense of personal contact with the divine presence in revelation [1974: 391; also see Goldziher 1967-71 vol. 2: 145-63].

The Buddhists of Sind, it will be recalled, belonged to the Sammitīya, perhaps the most populist of the Indian Buddhist schools. In sharp contrast to the highly intellectualized systems, the Sammitīya postulated the actual existence of a readily comprehensible *puggala* ("self") which transmigrated. The striking anti-intellectual populism of this uniquely Sammitīya tenet has been noted previously (see above pp. 8-10).

However, it is in the textualism and literalism of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* and the Sammitīya that the closest similarities can be observed. It should be borne in mind that the *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth* were not traditionists in the normal sense of upholding the present and future authority of past beliefs or customs, but in the technical sense of maintaining the superiority in governing Muslim behaviour of *ḥadīth* reports of the Prophet's words and actions.[53] Perhaps the word textualist better conveys the religious perspective of the group. Since a large number of early Sindī converts to Islam would appear to have come from Sammitīya Hīnayāna Buddhism, it is tempting to consider Sindī Muslim interest in *ḥadīth* as related broadly to the early Hīnayāna absorption in *vinaya* ("discipline").

The *Vinaya-Piṭaka* ("Book of Discipline") forms a third of the Pali Canon and consists of a code of conduct for living in the Buddhist community which, in many ways, was more important than doctrine to early Buddhism.[54] This system of praxis shows certain similarities in form and structure to the Muslim system of praxis evident in the corpus of traditions. The *Vinaya* consists of reports of the sayings or actions of the Buddha in specific situations, containing both a statement of reception ("so have I heard") and of time and occasion ("at such and such a time and place") (Dutt 1962: 270). While lacking a precise counterpart to the Muslim *isnād* ("chain of authorities"), the resemblance to *ḥadīth* reports is striking. Both are not so much laws as they are reports of the sayings or actions of a specific historical individual in a specific textual and contextual situation. Thus, the *Vinaya* reports, even though accumulated later (in a process remarkably analogous to that of the *ḥadīth*),[55] were directed back and attributed

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53 Hodgson (1974: 386-92) is particularly illuminating on the "textualist piety" of the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*. Also see Schacht (1950: 253-57; 1964: 34-36) who, unfortunately, renders *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* simply as "traditionists" without distinguishing the group from the neutral *muḥaddithūn* ("traditionists"). See Watt (1973: 66-67) for a criticism of this blurring of the distinction.

54 The following discussion of *Vinaya* textualism is based primarily on S. Dutt (1924: 28-38; 1962: 74-84, 172-73, 249-60). The *Vinaya-Piṭaka* has been translated by I. B. Horner (1938-66). Further discussion and bibliography can be found in John Holt (1981).

55 For the *Vinaya* note S. Dutt's observation (1924: 28): "The rules of the *Vinaya-pitaka* were in point of fact derived from various material sources, but on each law the theory was superim-

to an historical person, the Buddha, whose customs and sayings in particular situations had the force of law. As Sukumar Dutt puts it, "■ Vinaya rule . . . almost invariably takes the form of a reported adjudication made by the Buddha as to what is right and what is wrong in ■ given 'state of facts'" (1962: 76). The rules do not take the form of ■ general law, but relate back to a specific dictum of the Buddha in a posited contextual situation. Hence, one finds, for example, fourteen discrete pronouncements of the Buddha concerning the wearing of shoes, each occurring in a specific anecdotal context, but no covering shoe-law (S. Dutt 1924: 30-32). Likewise, Muḥammad's dicta and actions on specified occasions are enshrined in traditions—many on relatively minor matters such as dress or cuisine—which assume the force of law from the Prophet's praxis (*sunnah*).

Moreover, the Hīnayānists in their arguments against the Mahāyānists (who rationalized the *Vinaya* as internal attitudes [S. Dutt 1962: 172-75]), maintained the literal importance of the sayings of the Buddha, all of which were deemed obligatory and sacrosanct (ibid.: 172-73, 249-50). By the same token, the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* argued against their rationalizing opponents by insisting on the explicit words of the text of the traditions and de-emphasizing community tradition and individual reasoning (Hodgson 1974: 388; Schacht 1960a). To the Hīnayānists, any doubt must be resolved with reference to the text of the Buddha's dicta ("to be brought down to the Sutta or shown in the Vinaya") (S. Dutt 1924: 28-30; 1962: 250). The Sammitīya was even more literalist and textualist in this regard than other Hīnayānist schools. Their main tenet—that a real not allegorical person (*puggala*) existed—was based on a literalist reading of the text of the Buddha's dicta. While other schools argued that the term was simply a concept, the Sammitīya insisted that the Buddha had used the term *puggala* and hence it must have a real existence (see above p. 9). The Buddha's pronouncements could not be explained away, but must be accepted in whole, all of them, even with their attendant difficulties. Similarly, the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, by referring their textual considerations back to the authority of Muḥammad's pronouncements and behaviour, maintained that the difficult textual traditions must be accepted "without asking how," and not rationalized or allegorized away.

While these similarities and analogies are suggestive, it is by no means clear that this alone answers the question of why Sindī Muslims were attracted to the position of the *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth*. By its very nature, this type of argument must remain inconclusive. However, assuming that conversion took place for the reasons outlined in the preceding chapter (the argument here is not that conversion occurred due to congenial ideological similarities), then it is surely reasonable to expect that the converts would opt for a type of Islam intelligible within their

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posed that it had been promulgated by Buddha on a certain occasion." That is, traditions belonging to different periods of Buddhist monasticism are given a similar textual origin ■ the pronouncements of the historical Buddha. For a similar process among Muslims where fabricated traditions of ■ later period were transferred back to the historical Prophet Muḥammad see Goldziher (1967-71 vol. 2: chs. 3-4) and Schacht (1950: 138-89).

previous religious perspective. And one can definitely observe some of the attractions that an *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth* position would have had for converts from the tradition of textual Buddhism.

Mystics and Ascetics

The second largest category of Sindī Muslims during the Arab period consisted of mystics and ascetics. Subsumed in this group are those individuals who were either termed Ṣūfī, *zāhid* ("ascetic"), *faqīr* ("mendicant"), or who were primarily associated with Ṣūfīs. Thirteen of the Sindī Muslims (18.6 percent of all individuals, 14.3 percent of all professions) fall within this category, including two of the eleven (18.2 percent) who were definitely in Sind (see table 1). They start appearing in the literature for the century after the Arab conquest (six of the thirteen died in the period 150-250/767-864) and then, like the traditionists, gradually decline in incidence during the fourth/tenth century and disappear in the last half of the fifth/eleventh century (see table 2). Of particular prominence among this group is the large representation (seven of the thirteen) of individuals bearing a Daybulī *nisbah*.[56] Since Daybul had a large Maheśvara temple and was a centre of Pāśupata Śaivism, perhaps these Daybulī mystics might have served as a conduit of Pāśupata concepts into Ṣūfism, a point which will be discussed later in this section.

Unfortunately, there is little additional biographical information on the particular beliefs or actions of these Sindī mystics and ascetics. One can observe, however, an inclination towards asceticism (many are termed *zāhid*) with perhaps an added component of a belief in personal supernatural powers. According to Subkī (1964 vol. 3: 55), Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Abū al-'Abbās al-Daybulī (d. 373/983) was "one of the possessors of states and unveilings, external miracles and sublime states" (*min arbāb al-aḥwāl wa-al-mukāshafāt lahu karāmāt ẓāhirah wa-aḥwāl sanīyah*). Aḥmad b. al-Sindī Abū Bakr al-Ḥaddād (d. 359/969) was thought by his student Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī (Khaṭīb 1931 vol. 4: 187) to belong to the hierarchy of forty mystical *abdāl* ("substitutes") whose prayers are answered (*mujāb al-da'wah*).[57] And the traditionist Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh Abū al-'Abbās al-Daybulī (d. 343/954) toward the end of his life became a Ṣūfī recluse (*min al-zuhhād al-fuqarā' al-'ubbād*) in Nīshāpūr where he became particularly renowned for his ascetic practices (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 236b). Moreover, most of the Sindī mystics and ascetics were also traditionists, and hence there would appear to be a close connection between the two religious perspectives.[58]

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56 See appendix A nos. 1, 19, 20, 21, 22, 46, 48.

57 According to Ḥujwīrī (1936: 214): "Of those who have power to loose and to bind and are the officers of the Divine court there are three hundred, called *Akhyār*, and forty, called *Abdāl*, and seven, called *Abrār*, and four, called *Awtād*, and three, called *Nuqabā*, and one, called *Quṭb* or *Ghawth*."

58 As Hodgson (1974: 393) observes: "The early Ṣūfis looked to disparate early founders, but

The evidence for Islamic mysticism and asceticism actually in Arab Sind is slim indeed, most of the data referring to a much later period.[59] However, two inscriptions (accompanied by later legends) have survived from this period as well as references to three Ṣūfīs who travelled through the region. The inscriptions, dated 171/787 and 341/952 and attached to the shrines of Abū Turāb and Khiḍr, are of particular interest.

In the first case, Abū Turāb is traditionally considered to be one of the *tābi'ū al-tābi'īn* ("Associates of the Associates," i.e., those who knew those who knew a Companion of the Prophet), an ascetic, and a military commander of some prowess who transmuted a hostile Hindu army into a hill through his miraculous powers (Qānī' 1971: 53; *Gazetteer*, B. vol. 1: 100). In local parlance, he is termed Ḥājjī Turābī, and his tomb (*mazār*) still exists in the Indus Delta, bearing an indistinct inscription dated 171/787.[60] Modern scholars generally have accepted the historicity of this individual, some considering him the first Ṣūfī *shaykh* in Sind (Moinul Haq 1974: 5), others reducing his function to an 'Abbāsid governorship over Sind (Bede 1973: 166, 250; Cousens 1925: 29). The latter solution is unlikely since the names and dates of the governors of Sind during this period are known and Abū Turāb (or any variation) is not one of them.[61] It is possible that the tomb is that of Turāb al-Ḥanẓalī, an ordinary soldier in the Thaqafite army who, according to the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 159), drowned around the year 93/711 while fording the Indus River somewhere in the Delta. If the identification is accepted (and the name and locality support it), then the date of the inscription would refer to the erection of the tomb, not the death of Turāb. In the course of time, a popular legend regarding the inhabitant of this early Arab tomb would have evolved among the Muslims of Sind.

While it is highly unlikely that Abū Turāb was a Ṣūfī *shaykh* of the Arab period, as later hagiographies maintain, the presence of the tomb and its legend is of some interest. First, the construction of a tomb (by 171/787, the date of the inscription) for a relatively unknown Arab soldier suggests an early attempt to mystify the conquest and the Arab conquerors, at least in the Indus Delta.[62] Second, the legend associates Abū Turāb with both traditions (as one of the *tā-*

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soon formed a single movement, which was closely associated with the Ḥadīth folk .... In many cases it is hard to draw a line between what was Ṣūfī mystical self-examination and what was Ḥadīthī moralism."

59 Later Sindī Ṣūfism has been well-documented. See Burton (1973 [1851] ch. 4: "Tasawwuf or Sufism in Sindh"), Gulraj (1924), Quddūsī (1959), and Schimmel (1975: 383-98).

60 Cousens (1925: 29) and the *Gazetteer* (1907-26 B vol. 1: 100) both read the date as 171 A.H. The date is difficult to decipher, but Qānī' (1971: 53) read it several centuries ago as 171.

61 Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 2: 463, 473, 479, 499-500) and Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 448-49, 479-80, 493-94) provide the most complete list of governors of Sind for the period.

62 There are other popular shrines in Sind which are alleged to be of individuals who came to Sind during the Arab period. For example, later hagiographers consider 'Abd Allāh Shāh Ghāzī, whose *mazār* is in Karachi, to be an 'Alid Arab who was martyred in Sind in the year 151/768 (see Kurin 1983). It is difficult to evaluate these claims, however, in the absence of either period epigraphs or early textual references.

bi'ū al-tābi'īn) and supernatural powers, a combination of particular fecundity in Sind also observed in the biographical data. Third, the tomb is located in the midst of Buddhist ruins, where over a hundred votive stūpas (inscribed with the Buddhist creed *ya dharma*) have been uncovered.[63] Perhaps the tomb acquired especial sanctity in the eyes of the residents of the Indus Delta through its association with a preexisting Buddhist religious site. It is even possible that the tomb was built where it was in order to transform the perceived efficacy of the non-Muslim site, via a posited Muslim soldier-saint, to aid the nascent Islamic community of Sind. That is, it is not the sanctity of the site which is disputed, but who will be the beneficiaries of its powers.

The second Arab period inscription is found in the shrine (*dargāh*) of the legendary Khwājah Khiḍr (Persian and Sindhī Khiẓr), located on an island in the middle of the Indus River just off Bhakkar. A verse inscribed on a slab set into the wall of the shrine reads:

> When this sublime shrine was raised,
> Which contains the fountain of Khiḍr,
> [. . . ?] wrote the pleasing line,
> Its date is *dargāh 'ālī*.[64]

The date is given numerically and reads indistinctly as either 341 or 321, but the reading of the *ta'rīkh* ("chronogram") as *dargāh 'ālī* supports the former date. The name of the alleged author of the verse is unclear, although it may well have been attributed to Khiḍr (a *rā* is discernible). The inscription itself is written in Persian, in a *nasta'līq* script which, as Yazdani rightly observes (Cousens 1925: 146), would not have been current in the fourth/tenth century. Perhaps it is a Persian translation of a previous Arabic inscription. The chronogram would appear to refer to the date of the erection of the original shrine.

Khiḍr or al-Khaḍir ("the green man"), an enigmatic Qur'ānic figure, occurs in the Islamic tradition as an immortal servant of God, patron saint of sailors and travellers, and the guardian of the fountain of life (*āb-i Khiḍr* in the above inscription). He plays a prominent role in Ṣūfism, serving as an inspiration to mystics in visions and dreams.[65] In Sind itself, he is venerated by both Muslims (as Khwājah Khiḍr) and Hindus (as Zindah Pīr), the latter associating him with the living god of the Indus River.[66] For both religions, the shrine is located on a

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63 The Buddhist creed is written in seventh-eighth century A.D. script (N. G. Majumdar 1934: 21-22), and thus roughly contemporaneous with the Arab conquest. Cf. M. Aurel Stein's observation (1910: 839) that the ruins of Buddhist sites in Central Asia could often be located by the shrines of Muslim saints.

64 The inscription is given by Cousens (1925: 145 and fig. 25). The right edge is indistinct.

65 The Islamic tradition is summarized by Wensinck (1978). Hujwīrī (1936: 141-42, 153, 290, 342) refers to a number of Ṣūfīs said to have been inspired by Khiḍr.

66 There is a large literature on the veneration of this figure in Sind. See, for instance, Burton (1973 [1851]: 326-29), the *Gazetteer* (1907-26 B. vol. 3: 48-50), Titus (1959: 146-47), Abbott (1977 [1924]: 59-64, 99-100), Eastwick (1843: 203-9), and Dames (1978).

small island off Bhakkar. According to Muslim accounts, Khiḍr became associated with the island when he miraculously diverted the Indus from Arōr to its present location at Bhakkar in order to save a Muslim woman (en route to Mecca) from the unwanted attentions of a Hindu king (Abbott 1977 [1924]: 99-100; Cousens 1925: 148-49, *Gazetteer*, B vol. 3: 48-50). If the date of 341/952 is correct, then the veneration of Khiḍr relative to the Indus River must be dated back to the late Habbārid period and would perhaps represent an early example of religious interpenetrations if not syncretism.[67]

Both of the examples reveal certain salient features of early Islam in Sind. They both occur in a context of a pre-Muslim site or power: Abū Turāb's tomb being built on a Buddhist site and Khiḍr being perceived as the living saint of the Indus River. Moreover, both are associated with miraculous powers which are employed for the benefit of the Muslim community against the non-Muslims of Sind: Abū Turāb is said to have changed a Hindu army into a hill, and Khiḍr to have saved a Muslim woman performing the pilgrimage (notably one of the five "pillars" of Islam). Incidentally, he did this by diverting the entire Indus River away from the capital of the Hindu king, thus bringing both the king and his non-Muslim community to ruin. While part of the perceived efficacy of the supernatural powers may be derived from association with non-Muslim sites or powers, it is notable that the legends have these miraculous capabilities being used in the defense of the Muslim vis-à-vis non-Muslim community.

Passing from the legendary, three mystics are known to have travelled through Sind during the Arab period. While in Shīrāz and Ahwāz, the geographer Maqdisī met an individual who had lived for some time in Sind and was "renowned for his asceticism (*zuhd*)" (1877: 471). He gave a particularly vivid description of Sind which Maqdisī subsequently used in his account of the region. Unfortunately, Maqdisī neither gives the name of the ascetic nor outlines his activities during his long stay in Arab Sind.

The most notable mystic to visit Arab Sind, however, was al-Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (244-309/858-921) who is said to have travelled to Gujarat and hence, by way of Daybul, through Sind and Multān to Kashmīr, probably around 283-83/896-97.[68] Although he is an important figure for Ṣūfism in later

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67 In this connection, it is interesting to note the seventh century A.D. painted image of Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇī uncovered at the stūpa of Mirpur Khas (Lohuizen 1981). This is the Bodhisattva of Compassion who, like Khiḍr, was known for the ability to protect travellers from shipwrecks and other disasters (S. Dutt 1962: 160). Also see Lawrence (1976: 113-14) for an interesting comparison between the Buddha and Khiḍr, and Beal (1884: 270-74) for Buddhist elements in the Muslim account of Khiḍr.

68 See Massignon (1975 vol. 1: 222-24) for the itinerary of Ḥallāj in India and Sind. Schimmel's suggestion (1975: 67) that on his return from Sind, Ḥallāj was subjected to criticism for "his supposed relations with the Carmathians, who ruled not only Bahrain but also northern Sind and Multan—places that the mystic has just visited" needs to be revised. The Ismā'īlīs did not actually rule Multān or Upper Sind until some seventy years after the visit of Ḥallāj (see below chapter 4 for details).

Sind (see Schimmel 1962), there is no evidence of a direct, personal influence on mystical thought in Sind during Ḥallāj's sojourn in the region. Conversely, while much has been written on the possible Indian influences on Ḥallāj (Horten 1927-28 vol. 1: 1-17; Nadvī 1929: 247-29; Zaehner 1969 [1960]: 20), these could have come from Gujarat or Kashmir rather than Sind, and hence need not concern us here.

According to 'Abd al-Ḥaqq (1866: 196), Sayyid Ṣafī al-Dīn Kāzarūnī, a nephew and *khalīfah* ("deputy") of Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Shahriyār Kāzarūnī (352-426/963-1034), was dispatched by his uncle to Upper Sind where he is alleged to have founded the city of Ūchh, later to become renowned as a centre of the Suhrawardī and Qādirī Ṣūfis.[69] The only evidence of Ṣafī al-Dīn's actions in Sind comes from an anecdote given by the Chishtī mystic Niẓām al-Dīn Awliyā' (d. 725/1324) which is preserved by Sijzī (1894: 50). While residing at Ūchh, Ṣafī al-Dīn is said to have encountered a yogi who challenged him to a clarifying duel of supernatural powers. While the yogi was only able to levitate to the ceiling, Ṣafī al-Dīn, after praying for the gift of miracles, emerged the clear winner by actually flying out of the room.

This legendary Hindu-Muslim encounter should be read in the light of the other material on Arab Sind which suggests an interest by Sindī mystics and ascetics in supernatural powers to be used against non-Muslims, perhaps as proof of the superior religious potency of Islam. These posited miraculous abilities are frontier powers par excellence: they are not mentioned as coming to the aid of Muslims in their internal relations or spiritual development, but only against non-Muslims. The confrontational spirit of the frontier, not of syncretism, is evident here.

Sindī influences on Ṣūfism. Before concluding this section, it is necessary to discuss briefly the controversial question of Sindī influences on Ṣūfism. I will not be concerned here with the more general topic of *Indian* influences, but only with the *Sindī* connection. A number of scholars have suggested that since Sind, an integral part of India, had been conquered by the Arabs in the early Umayyad period and thereafter integrated into the cultural and political Arab Muslim empire, a channel for the communication of Indian thought into Ṣūfism existed, and hence a historical connection can be made.[70] There is much to commend this theory. Sind definitely formed an integral part of the Muslim empire during the Umayyad and 'Abbāsid periods. Sindī Muslims, including mystics and ascetics, were abroad during this period, suggesting the possibility of cultural contacts. Moreover, it is reasonable to conclude that those Arabs who settled in or visited Sind as well as Sindī converts from Hinduism and Buddhism would be

69 The story is certainly apocryphal in its details, although there is no reason to doubt his presence in Sind. For his tomb in Ūchh see Shihāb (1967: 172-80).

70 This is primarily evidenced in Zaehner (1969 [1957], 1969 [1960]), but also Horten (1927-28) and Nicholson (1975 [1914]: 17-19).

acquainted to some degree with the religious beliefs and practices of their non-Muslim compatriots. That is, Sindī Muslims, both Arabs and converts, would have had access to the non-Muslim concepts current in Arab Sind.

Having said this, it is necessary to add that those scholars who have posited a Sindī connection have not done so relative to the non-Muslim religions known to have been extant in Sind during the Arab period. That is, the historical connection has not been exploited. It is generally assumed that Hindu or Buddhist thought in Sind must have been the same as that of a general reified Hinduism or Buddhism, examples of which are taken indiscriminately from all parts and times of India. Thus, Zaehner (1969 [1960]: 95 et passim) argues a Sindī connection to Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī (d. 261/874 or 264/877) via Abū 'Alī al-Sindī, which is possible, but then assumes that the latter communicated the Vedānta monist theories of Śaṅkara, which is unlikely. There is no cogent reason to assume that the Advaita Vedānta views of the South Indian Śaṅkara (d. ca. A.D. 820) were current in third/ninth century Sind. Indeed, Hindu Sind was primarily Pāśupata and Śaṅkara, according to Ānandagiri (cited in Dasgupta 1922-62 vol. 5: 3), was antagonistic towards this sect, considering their views anti-Hindu, and even suggesting that they be "chastised and whipped." Sindī Pāśupatas, even if aware of Śaṅkara's theories (and there is no direct evidence that they were), would hardly be likely to communicate his perceptions at the expense of their own.

This will clearly not do. Surely any argument of Indian influence via Sind must be based initially on the beliefs of those Hindu and Buddhist sects known to have been predominant in Sind during the Arab period: Sammitīya Buddhism and Pāśupata Śaivism. I have previously shown similarities between the literal textualism and populism of the Sammitīya and the traditionists. In the remainder of this section, I will examine a single line of analysis from the Sindī Pāśupata into Ṣūfism.

By a considerable margin, the major Hindu sect in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest was the Pāśupata, a theist system with rituals and philosophy substantially different from other Hindu systems (see above pp. 14-18). Moreover, over half of the Arab period mystics and ascetics carried a *nisbah* related to Daybul, a city with a large Maheśvara temple inhabited by Pāśupatas. If one postulates a Pāśupata rather than Vedānta influence on Ṣūfism, then some of the difficulties in establishing valid comparisons are diminished.

The Pāśupata had a highly unusual ritual whereby the aspirant courted public dishonour (*adharma*) through the preformance of disreputable and outrageous actions. Among the six established ways to elicit such opprobrium are the performance of improper or nonsensical actions (*avitatkaraṇa*) and the utterance of contradictory or nonsensical speech (*avitadbhāṣaṇa*).[71] Dishonour was actively

71 Sāyaṇa (1958: 27-29) explains the former as "doing things which the world censures, as if one could not distinguish between what should be done and what should not" and the latter as "the uttering of words which contradict one another or which have no meaning."

pursued in order to transfer merit and achieve ascetic isolation and detachment from the world. Similarities can readily be seen in the *malāmah* ("blame" or "censure") of the Ṣūfīs, especially those termed in retrospect Malāmatīyah ("blameworthy ones") who performed outrageous and seemingly illicit acts to elicit blame and rejection, usually for the ascetic motive of self-mortification and isolation.[72]

The parallels are very close. Both groups deliberately provoked contempt (which is different from passive acceptance); both did so through outwardly scandalous or illicit actions; and both did so primarily for ascetic motives. If there is any Indian influence here, it would have to come from the Pāśupata, the only major Hindu sect to have practised such a deliberate elicitation of blame and dishonour. It should be pointed out, however, that there is no explict historical connection to Sind here; the Pāśupata influence (if such it is) could have penetrated into the Malāmatīyah via Central Asia.

There also appears to be a resemblance, at least on the surface, between the Pāśupata practice of *avitadbhāṣaṇa* ("nonsensical speech") and the *shaṭaḥāt* ("ecstatic speech") of Ḥallāj, Bisṭāmī, and other Ṣūfīs. The ecstatic utterances of Bisṭāmī, for example, certainly contained an element of paradox and provoked blame and condemnation, while those of Ḥallāj indirectly led to his death.[73] The resemblances here, however, are more superficial than real. For the Pāśupata, the nonsensical or paradoxical speech was pronounced in order to provoke opprobrium, while among the Ṣūfīs it would appear to have been the result of (not a means to) a mystical experience which could only be expressed in paradox. Of course, the two are analogous where the *shaṭḥ* was used by the Ṣūfī to elicit *malāmah*.

Perhaps the most widely discussed analogy, however, is that between the Ṣūfī term *fanā'* ("annihilation") and the Buddhist and Hindu *nirvāṇa* ("extinction"). That the source of Bisṭāmī's *fanā'* lies in the Buddhist *nirvāṇa* (and was communicated to him by Abū 'Alī al-Sindī) has been suggested by Louis Massignon (1922: 80), Max Horten (1927-28 vol. 1: 4), Reynold Nicholson (1975 [1914]: 17-19), and R. C. Zaehner (1969 [1960]: 93), and repudiated with some vigour by A. J. Arberry (1957: 90-91; 1962), B. Carra de Vaux (1965), Qassim al-Samarrai (1968: 218-20), and Muhammad Abdur Rabb (1971: 185-211). After much debate, the tendency among Islamicists is to deny the connection on the following grounds: *fanā'* is theist while *nirvāna* is atheist; *fanā'* is positive while *nirvāṇa* is negative; *fanā'* contains within it the element of remaining in God

72 Ḥujwīrī (1936: 62-69) provides a fifth/eleventh century overview of the Malāmatīyah. Also see the discussion by Goldziher (1981: 149-50) and Trimingham (1971 appendix B: "Ṣūfīs, Malāmatīs, and Qalandarīs").

73 For the *shaṭaḥāt* of Bisṭāmī see Abdur Rabb (1971: 141-83); for those of Hallāj see Schimmel (1975: 64-77). Also see Massignon (1934). Abdur Rabb has addressed the issue of why the ecstatic utterances of Bisṭāmī were acceptable while those of Ḥallāj were not.

(*baqā'*) which is not evident in *nirvāṇa*; and unlike *fanā'*, *nirvāṇa* is the culmination of the transmigration of souls.[74] While this is partially although not entirely true of Buddhist *nirvāṇa*,[75] it is not the case of the Pāśupata who conceived of *nirvāṇa* in a manner at some odds with other Hindu systems.

The Pāśupata concept of *nirvāṇa* (also termed *duḥkhānta*, "the extinction of sorrows") is totally dependent on a God who is conceived as the independent cause of the universe (see above pp. 17-18). The Pāśupata system was so thoroughly theist, perhaps even monotheist, that its scripture could assert that "God acts according to his will, independent of human deeds (*karma*)" (Sāyaṇa 1958: 31), thereby rejecting the primary Hindu theory of *karma*. In keeping with this radical view, the Pāśupata adept could attain *nirvāṇa* only by the grace of God. Not only is the concept theist, but it also contains within it the positive component of remaining with God. In sharp contrast to Vedānta monism, the Pāśupata *nirvāṇa* did not lead to the union of the individual soul (*ātman*) with the whole (*brahman*), but to the presence of the Lord (Īśvara) to whom the soul was forever linked not to be subject to rebirth. In the Pāśupata concept, it is not the individual but the will of the individual which is annihilated in God's will. It is in this state that one perceives "the essence (of things) just as they are" (ibid.: 32), and even partakes of many of the Lord's attributes, such as the supermundane power of perception and knowledge.

As can readily be seen, some of the inadequacies of comparing *fanā'* with *nirvāṇa* are eliminated if one accepts the possibility of a Pāśupata connection. Both concepts are dependent on a theist perception of God; both contain positive elements; both accomodate within them the element of remaining or subsiding with God; both recognize the annihilation of man's will in the will of God; and both states are achieved through the grace of God. These similarities alone do not prove ■ genetic relationship between the two concepts. Still, there exists a strongly supportive historical connection in the case of Bisṭāmī. It should be borne in mind that Bisṭāmī was not simply indebted to Abū 'Alī al-Sindī in a general sense, but, according to Jāmī (1957: 57), learned from him the specific technique of "annihilation in Divine Unity" (*Bāyazīd guyad keh man az Bū 'Alī 'ilm-i fanā' dar tawḥīd mī-āmōkhtam*). Since the Pāśupata was the predominant Hindu sect in Sind, it is possible that Abū 'Alī al-Sindī was aware (directly if he actually came from Sind, indirectly if his family came from Sind) of their con-

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74 Vaux (1965) outlines the main arguments, even suggesting that ■ Christian (rather than Indian) origin is preferable. The reluctance of Islamicists to pursue an Indian connection is paralleled by the classicists. Cf. Hermann Fränkel's criticism of a comparison of Heraclitus with the Upaniṣads: "See how the Greek scholar fears the Upanishads. He does not merely think they are dangerous, he is really surprised to find that interest in them can coexist with sound interpretation" (cited in Scharfstein 1978: 216).

75 Ḥujwīrī (1936: 243) indicates that "real annihilation from anything involves consciousness of its imperfection and absence of desire for it." This is remarkably analogous to the Buddhist concept of *nirvāṇa* as the elimination of desire or craving. See the analysis by Kalupahana (1976: 69-90).

cept of *nirvāṇa* and included certain elements of it while instructing Bisṭāmī in *fanā'*.[76] In addition, Bisṭāmī had possible access to Pāśupata concepts through his brother-in-law who bore a *nisbah* related to the city of Daybul, a centre of the Sindī Śaivites (Ibn al-Jawzī 1936-37 vol. 4: 94).

While the above evidence is not conclusive, if a conduit into classical Ṣūfism through Arab Sind is posited, then the obvious place to look for an influence is within the Sindī Pāśupata system and not Vedānta monism. And, in sharp contrast to other Indian systems, the Pāśupata concept of *nirvāṇa* has much in common with the Ṣūfī *fanā'*.

Shī'ites and Khārijites[77]

Ten of the seventy Sindī Muslims (14.3 percent of all individuals, 11.0 percent of all religious professions) fall within the category of Shī'ites (see table 1). They occur only in the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, with half of them dying in the 150-200/767-815 period (see table 2). The Shī'ite biographical sources unfortunately are not forthcoming about these Sindīs, rarely expanding beyond their names and a terse note concerning their role in the transmission of Shī'ite traditions. Even their dates can be reconstructed only indirectly with reference to their more renowned teachers or students. Hence, it is not surprising that none of the ten Sindī Shī'ites can be placed definitely in Sind (or elsewhere for that matter) through supplementary textual evidence. There is, however, cogent evidence of the presence of 'Alids and Shī'ites actually in Sind during the Arab period. The evidence will be discussed in full in the chapter on Ismā'īlism which follows.

As far as the Khārijites are concerned, I have been unable to locate a single individual bearing a Sind-related *nisbah*. Perhaps this is due to the unavailability of specific Khārijite biographical dictionaries for the period. Nonetheless, members of this sect were definitely within the jurisdiction of Sind, especially in Mukrān and Ṭūrān. Arab geographers and travellers have referred to the arid, sparsely populated region of Mukrān as the domain of the *shurāt*, a term generally employed for the Khārijites (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 177; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 325; Mas'ūdī 1861-77 vol. 1: 238-39). They would appear to have had a particularly close relationship with the Ibāḍīyah Khārijites of nearby 'Umān. On the failure of his revolt in Mawṣil in 148/765, Ḥassān b. Mujālid b. Yaḥyá al-Hamadānī, a relative of the Khārijite theologian Ḥafṣ b. Ashaym, fled to Sind (*sic*, but Mukrān is probably meant) where he unsuccessfully attempted to enlist the assistance of the Ibādīyah Khārijites from 'Umān who were residing in the region.[78]

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76 Also note the curious anecdote related by Sa'dī (1974: 123) of Bisṭāmī rubbing ashes on his face and exclaiming "My Soul! I'm fit for the Fire—Shall I, then, look askance at ashes?" One is reminded here of the most characteristic Pāśupata rite, smearing the body with ashes.

77 Khārijites are being discussed here for the sake of convenience. This is not to imply that they had anything in common with the Shī'ites apart from being (in retrospect) sectarian.

78 The incident is noted by Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 584), Azdī (1967: 203-6), and

Another source of Khārijite agitation in Sind came from the adjacent region of Sīstān. Ḥamzah b. Ādharak (or 'Abd Allāh), ■ Sīstānī leader of a sub-sect of the 'Ajāridah Khārijites known as Ḥamzīyah, summoned his followers in 193/808 to "go forth and wage war against the idolators [*but-parastān*] in the Indus Valley."[79] Ḥamzah is said to have personally raided Sind and Hind, returning to Sīstān by way of Mukrān in 200/815. There is no evidence that either he or his followers had any short or long term military or religious impact on Sind or Mukrān.[80] Shahrastānī (1961 vol. 1: 130), however, does note that ■ sub-sect of the 'Ajāridah—called Khalafīyah after Ḥamzah's Sīstānī contemporary Khalaf al-Khārijī—had adherents among the Khārijites of Kirmān and Mukrān.

The Sīstānī Khārijites also appeared in the region of Sind called Ṭūrān, located between the upper Indus Valley and Mukrān. After Ya'qūb b. Layth al-Ṣaffār defeated and killed 'Ammār b. Yāsir al-Khārijī at Nishak in 251/865, "the Kharijites were consequently all demoralized and took refuge in the mountains of Asfozār or in the Hendqānān valley" (*Tārīkh-i Sīstān* 1976: 164-65; see Bosworth 1968: 115-16, 118). Hindqānān in undoubtedly the area known to Arab geographers as Kīzkānān or Qīqān, the residence of the ruler of Ṭūrān in the fourth/tenth century (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 177; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 324; Maqdisī 1877: 478).

The presence of Khārijites at Quzdār (a variation of Quṣdār), also in Ṭūrān, is evidenced by a long anecdote given on the authority of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Laṭīf in the *Nishwār al-muḥaḍarah* of 'Alī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994). 'Alī b. Laṭīf, a Mu'tazilite theologian, travelled to Quṣdār where he found ■ large number of Khārijites residing. During the course of his stay, the Mu'tazilite, after expressing alarm at the possible theft of his clothes which at Khārijite tailor had carelessly left outside, was sternly lectured:

> You people have become accustomed to base morality (*akhlāq al-ardhāl*) because you were brought up in the land of infidelity (*bilād al-kufr*) in which there exists theft and deception. We know nothing of that here. Your clothes would remain where they were put until they wore out, and still no one would take them but you. Even if you were to travel to the Far East or the Far West, on returning you would find them still in their place. Indeed, we have neither brigands nor immorality among us, nor anything like you people have [Tanūkhī 1971-73 vol. 3: 89-90; also reported by Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 4: 86-87].

Ibn Khaldūn (1956-61 vol. 3: 359). He was known variously as Ḥassān b. Yaḥyá, Ḥassān b. Ghassān, and Ḥassān b. Mukhālid (Omar 1969: 293-94). For the relationship between the Ibāḍīyah of 'Umān and Mukrān ■ Lewicki (1971b: 653) and Bosworth (1965: 23-24). The history of the movement is discussed by Lewicki (1971a, 1971b).

79 *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, trans. Milton Gold (1976: 135). Gold has translated the "Sind" of the text (1935: 179) as "the Indus Valley." See Bosworth (1968: 87-104) and Sadighi (1938: 54-56) for Ḥamzah's revolt in Sīstān.

80 The *Tārīkh-i Sīstān* is the only source to mention the raid of Ḥamzah on Sind. It should be noted that the majority of Arab sources characterize the governorship over Sind of Dā'ūd b. Yazīd al-Muhallabī (184-205/800-20), when these events would have taken place, ■ a period of

There are several points of interest in this contemporary account of Quṣdār. It is apparent that there was a fairly substantial community of Khārijites in Ṭūrān around the middle of the fourth/tenth century ("it is their region and centre," ibid.: 88) who were organized under a caliph residing at Quṣdār.[81] The anecdote also reveals the strong self-perception of Quṣdārī Khārijites as a unique and righteous community. The corollary is that non-Khārijite Muslims were perceived as infidels (*kuffār*). Indeed, the perceived paradox of the anecdote lies in 'Alī b. Laṭīf, a prominent Muslim probably from Baṣrah, being told that he comes from the corrupt *bilād al-kufr* by an inhabitant of isolated Ṭūrān, probably not completely Islamized at the time. The Khārijite view of Quṣdār as a kind of utopia surrounded by infidels is definitely in keeping with the communualistic views of Khārijites elsewhere that they were the true believers (*mu'minūn*) while other Muslims were infidels (*kuffār*).[82]

Jurists

One of the more interesting results of the collated biographical data is the low representation of jurists (*fuqahā'*) among those bearing *nisbahs* related to Sind. There are only seven Sindī Muslims (10.0 percent of all individuals, 7.7 percent of all religious occupations) who followed this profession during the Arab period (see table 1), one of whom was Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī b. Shāhik who is given over a dozen occupations by his friend Jāḥiẓ (1948-50 vol. 1: 335; 1938-45 vol. 2: 140). Of the remaining jurists, the legal school (*madhhab*, pl. *madhāhib*) is directly specified for only three: two, father and son, were Ẓāhirite and one was Shāfi'ite.[83] Two other jurists were possibly Shāfi'ite on the evidence of their teachers.[84] Five of the seven died in the fourth/tenth century (see table 2), and four carried local *nisbahs* (two Manṣūrīs, one Daybulī, and one Quṣdārī). It is difficult to engender chronological or geographical conclusions, however, on the basis of only seven jurists.

The only direct evidence for the study of jurisprudence within Arab Sind is given by Maqdisī who visited the region before 375/985 and noted that while the majority of Muslims were *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, "the capital cities (*qaṣabāt*) are not lacking jurists of the legal school of Abū Ḥanīfah, although they have no Mālikīyah nor Mu'tazilah, nor any work of the Ḥanābilah" (1877: 481). Apart from the "partisans of tradition," the major *madhhab* in Sind, at least in the capital cities (*qaṣabāt*),[85] would appear to have been the Ḥanafites, which is noted for a

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peace and prosperity. See Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 494), Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 6: 166, 362), Balādhurī (1866: 445).

81 However, the two Quṣdārīs noted in the biographical sources were not Khārijites: one was a traditionist, the other a jurist and ascetic. See appendix A nos. 6 and 60.

82 On this point see Wellhausen (1975: 19-23) and Watt (1973: 35-37).

83 See appendix A nos. 2, 9, 22.

84 See appendix A nos. 33 and 70.

85 Ishaq (1955a: 37) reads *qaṣabāt* as "local townships" with the implication that the Ḥanafites

later period by Yāqūt (d. 627/1229; 1866-73 vol. 3: 166). Before travelling to Sind, Maqdisī himself talked to a *faqīh* who was one of the companions of the Ḥanafite *qāḍī* Abū al-Haytham al-Nīsābūrī and had "travelled these regions [of Sind] and knew their conditions" (1877: 477).

Not surprisingly, given the popularity of *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* perspective in Sind and among Sindī Muslims, two of the Sindī jurists, father and son, belonged to the Dā'ūdī Ẓāhirite legal school, and both of them actually resided in the Habbārid capital of Manṣūrah for a period of time.[86] Maqdisī met the Ẓāhirite *imām* Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūrī in Manṣūrah where "he was a teacher and author who had already written many excellent books."[87] It is difficult to assess the influence in Sind of this well-known jurist. The biographical literature does not record the names of any of his Sindī students or, indeed, any subsequent Ẓāhirite jurists in Sind. If he did have any impact on religious or legal developments in Sind, it would have been primarily in the Ḥabbārid capital of Manṣūrah where he intermittently lived and worked.

Qur'ānic Scholars

A few Sindī Muslims were concerned with the Qur'ānic sciences, primarily recitation (four *muqrīs*, one *mujawwid*), although one individual, Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Daybulī (d. 322/933), transmitted the Qur'ānic commentary (*Kitāb al-tafsīr*) of Sufyān b. 'Uyaynah (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 236b). Three of the six bore Daybulī *nisbahs*, which might indicate an especial concern with the Qur'ānic sciences on the part of Daybulī Muslims (although the numbers are not large).[88] Three of the six also died in the last half of the fourth/tenth century,[89] a period of rapid decline in the numbers of traditionists (see table 2). But here again, the numbers involved are not substantial. It would probably be inaccurate to see the late fourth/tenth century as a period of efflorescence in the Qur'ānic sciences solely on the basis of three Sindī Muslims.

As for Sind itself, at the time of the conquest Ḥajjāj commanded Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim to instruct his troops that "whoever can read the Qur'ān, let him be continually occupied in its recital (*tilāwat-i Qur'ān*), and the rest in prayer"

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were active only in the countryside. Maqdisī (1877: 475-78), however, uses the term only for the capital cities of greater Sind: Bannajbūr, capital of Mukrān; Quzdār, capital of Ṭūrān; Manṣūrah, capital of Habbārid Sind; Multān, capital of Multān province; Wayhind, capital of Hind; and Qinnawj, capital of Qinnawj province.

86 That is, Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūrī and his more famous son Aḥmad. The Ẓāhirite *madhhab*, also called Dā'ūdī after the name of its founder Dā'ūd b. Khalaf, was noted for deriving law from the literal meaning or text (*ẓāhir*) of the Qur'ān and the traditions. The standard account of this legal school remains Goldziher (1971).

87 Maqdisī (877: 481) calls him Abū Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī. The titles of three of his books are given by Ibn al-Nadīm (1964 [1871] vol. 1: 218).

88 See appendix A nos. 46, 49, 50. Also note the Qur'ānic inscription found at Daybul (Abdul Ghafur 1966: 85-86 and plate 28).

89 See appendix A nos. 14, 45, 49.

(*Chachnāmah* 939: 101).[90] Hence, there were probably *muqrīs* in the army of conquest; perhaps some of them subsequently settled in Sind. And 'Aṭīyah b. Sa'd al-'Awfī, ■ traditionist who also wrote a *tafsīr*, participated in the Thaqafite conquest of Sind.[91]

The geographer Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 322) gives evidence for ■ later period of ■ "great interest in the Qur'ān and its science" among the inhabitants of Multān, adding that they follow the seven canonical systems of recitation.[92] Elsewhere (ibid.: 324), he refers to Abū al-Qāsim al-Baṣrī, the ruler of Ṭūrān, as one of the *ahl al-Qur'ān* ("people of the Qur'ān").

Recent scholars concerned with the religious history of Arab Sind have focussed particular attention on what is alleged to be the first translation of the Qur'ān into Sindī (Pathan 1974: 91, 146-47; Nadvī 1929: 241-42; Schimmel 1974: 3-4). The source for this incident is found in the *Kitāb 'ajā'ib al-Hind* (written ca. 339/950) where it is given on the authority of Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. 'Amr al-Najīramī who, in turn, heard of it during a visit to Manṣūrah in 288/900 (Rāmhurmuzī 1886: 2-4). According to this account, Mahrūk b. Rāyaq, the ruler of the region between Upper and Lower Kashmir,[93] wrote in 270/883 to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar, the Habbārid ruler of Manṣūrah, asking him for a *tafsīr* of the laws of Islam (*sharī'at al-Islām*) to be rendered into what is called *hindīyah*. The Habbārid delegated the task to an 'Irāqī who resided in Manṣūrah but had been brought up in India and hence knew its languages. The 'Irāqī penned an "ode" (*qaṣīdah*) summarizing the Islamic laws which so delighted the king that he invited the writer to his court in Kashmir. While there, the 'Irāqī poet, on the king's request, wrote a *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān, also in *hindīyah*. When he reached Sūrah 36.78-79, the king is said to have secretly converted to Islam.

While this incident is of interest (even if the account of the conversion of the king of Kashmir is purely legendary), it cannot rightfully be taken as evidence for the first translation of the Qur'ān into Sindī. For one thing, the rendition was into what is termed *hindīyah*, the language of the ruler of Kashmir. It may have been into Kashmiri or some other Indian language (perhaps Sanskrit), but it was certainly not Sindī. The task was delegated not to a Sindī but to an indi-

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90 The Qur'ān occupies an important place in the account of the conquest contained in the *Chachnāmah*. The letters and speeches of Ḥajjāj and Muḥammad, in particular, contain copious quotations from the Qur'ān (1939: 126, 143, 149, 189, 197, 228, 235). In a single letter addressed to Dāhir, the Brahmin king of Sind, Muḥammad quotes no fewer than seven passages from the Qur'ān (ibid.: 113-14, quoting Qur'an 2.249, 3.54, 9.73, 11.56, 12.5, 25.43, 58.22).

91 His presence in Sind is noted by the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 101), Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 2494), Ibn Sa'd (1905-40 vol. 7: 212-13), and Ibn Ḥajar (1907-9 vol. 7: 224-26). His *tafsīr* is noted by Sezgin (1967 vol. 1: 30-31).

92 For the seven systems of recitation see Watt (1970: 47-50).

93 Schimmel (1974: 3-4) translates Rāmhurmuzī's "the king of al-Rā'" (1886: 2) as "the prince of Alor." The reference, however, cannot be to a prince of Alor (i.e., Arōr, Arabic al-Rūr), a town of Sind conquered by the Arabs, since the text clearly has him ■ ruler of ■ region between Upper and Lower Kashmir. Perhaps al-Rā' is equivalent to *al-rāy* (see Mas'ūdī 1861-77 vol. 1: 177), i.e., the title of the king and not the name of the region.

vidual who had been raised in Hind and had a degree of facility with Indian languages. Second, the source specifies that what was rendered into *hindīyah* was a *tafsīr*, which is not strictly speaking a translation. The individual performing this duty was a poet (*shā'ir*) and perhaps his *tafsīr* of the Qur'ān was in the form of an ode like his earlier *tafsīr* of the Islamic laws.

To be sure, this does not detract from the achievement: it is still the first *tafsīr* into an Indian language of both the laws of Islam and the Qur'ān. Moreover, it indicates an aggressive interest in the propagation of the Qur'ān and Islam during the early Habbārid period and a belief in Manṣūrah (where the anecdote was current in 288/900) in the power of the Qur'ān to effect conversion.

Qāḍīs and Khaṭībs

Only two of the seventy Sindī Muslims (2.9 percent of all individuals) followed the profession of judge (*qāḍī*): Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Manṣūrī, the Ẓāhirite jurist, was the *qāḍī* of both Manṣūrah in Sind and Arrajān in Western Fārs (Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 3: 166; Ibn Ḥajar 1911-13 vol. 1: 272), while the traditionist Sindī b. 'Abduwayh al-Rāzī was the *qāḍī* of Hamadhān and Qazwīn (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 314; Ibn Abī Ḥātim 1952-53 vol. 4: 318-19). Perhaps the paucity of references to *qāḍīs* bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* can be attributed in part to the concern of the biographical literature with those *qāḍīs* who served in the regions of the central heartlands. And, since the office was often the focal point of regional factional disputes,[94] it may have been difficult for an individual from outside the region to serve in that capacity.

Nevertheless, as one would expect, there were *qāḍīs* and *khaṭībs* ("preachers") in Arab Sind, although, with the exception of Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, the *qāḍī* of Manṣūrah, they did not attract outside attention. At the time of the conquest, Mūsá b. Ya'qūb al-Thaqafī was appointed *qāḍī* and *khaṭīb* of the region of Arōr and given a written title of office with the instruction, "treat the subjects with proper concern, according to the [Qur'ānic] order, 'command the right and forbid the wrong'" (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 235). Mūsá founded a long line of hereditary Thaqafite *qāḍīs* and *khaṭībs* of Arōr and Bhakkar whose office was accepted by the Ghaznavids and lasted until at least the seventh/thirteenth century (ibid.: 9-10; Qāni' 1971: 41, 55).

When Ibn Baṭṭūṭah visited the Indus Valley in the year 734/1333, he met an Arab named Shaybānī who had in his posession a diploma of appointment to the office of *khaṭīb* of Sīwistān given to an ancestor in 99/717 and signed by the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. The office of preacher of the town was then "inherited generation after generation from that time to the present day" (1958-71 vol. 3: 598). The author of the original letter of appointment, if it is historical,

94 Mottahedeh (1980: 162-66) considers the role of *qāḍīs* in regional loyalty, while Bulliet (1972: 61-65) notes the struggle between various factions in Nīshāpūr over the office of *qāḍī*.

was probably the Habbārid ruler 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (ca. 240-60/854-73) and not the caliph of the same name.[95] In any case, the evidence of the Thaqafites of Arōr and the Shaybānites of Sīwistān suggests that the office of *qāḍī* and *khaṭīb* may have followed hereditary lines in Arab Sind.

The Arab geographer and historian Mas'ūdī travelled to Sind in the year 303/915 and noted a particularly close relationship between the Habbārid rulers of Manṣūrah and the family of the well-known *qāḍī* Abū al-Shawārib.[96] It is sometimes supposed, based on a statement by the historian Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 7: 482), that the *qāḍī* Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib himself came to the Habbārid capital of Manṣūrah in 283/896 and died shortly thereafter.[97] Yohanan Friedmann (1974: 663), however, has argued that this conclusion is based on a misreading of Ibn al-Athīr who merely states that at the time of his death Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib had been *qāḍī* for six months of the city of the caliph al-Manṣūr (*madīnat al-Manṣūr*), by which is meant Baghdād and not Manṣūrah in Sind. The argument occurs as part of Friedmann's attempt to prove that Sind was not congenial to the development of Islamic culture. It should be pointed out, however, that there is an early tradition that Manṣūrah in Sind was built during the caliphate of al-Manṣūr after whom it was named.[98] Hence it is entirely possible that *madīnat al-Manṣūr* could refer to the city of Manṣūrah in Sind and not to Baghdād. Moreover, as noted above, only twenty years after the *qāḍī* Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib is said to have died in "the city of al-Manṣūr," Mas'ūdī visited the city of Manṣūrah in Sind and found the family of the *qāḍī* Abū al-Shawārib in positions of authority. As a result, it is legitimate to conclude that even if Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib himself did not immigrate to Sind, one of his relatives did around the same time. Whatever the case, the sources give no indication of the actions of this family of *qāḍīs* in Manṣūrah, although they presumably had considerable influence at the Habbārid court.

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95 Gibb rightly observes "that at this date a caliph should have issued a diploma of appointment to a local khaṭīb is highly improbable" (Ibn Baṭṭūṭah 1958-71 vol. 3: 598).

96 Mas'ūdī 1861-77 vol. 1: 377. For the family see Massignon (1963 vol. 1: 258-65) and Vadet (1971).

97 Recent historians have expanded on the importance of this individual in Habbārid Sind. Pathan (1974: 148), for example, considers him "of great assistance to the rulers of al-Mansūrah in the judicial administration of the kingdom." However, he was only in Manṣūrah, if at all, for six months, which surely limits his personal assistance. According to Ḥusaynī (1971: 266), on the death of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Shawārib, his son 'Alī served as *qāḍī* of Manṣūrah until the visit of Mas'ūdī. His sole source for this information is Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 1: 377), which only notes the close relationship between the family of Abū al-Shawārib and the Habbārids.

98 See, for instance, Ya'qūbī (1892: 238), Yāqūt (1866-73 vol. 4: 663), Abū al-Fidā' (1840: 350-51), and Idrīsī (1960: 42). There are two other traditions: that Manṣūrah was built by and named after Manṣūr b. Jumhūr al-Kalbī, the governor of Sind, 129-36/746-53 (Ibn Khayyāṭ 1966 vol. 2: 389; Mas'ūdī 1861-77 vol. 1: 379) and that it was built by 'Amr b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Thaqafī, the governor of Sind, 122-26/739-43 (Balādhurī 1866: 444; Ya'qūbī 1883 vol. 1: 78-84).

Theologians and Philosophers

The biographical data reveal only two Sindī Muslims (2.9 percent of all individuals) concerned with scholastic theology (*kalām*) or philosophy (*falsafah*): al-Fatḥ b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (d. ca. 340-50/951-61) was a traditionist and a jurist who studied *kalām* with Abū 'Alī al-Thaqafī (Sam'ānī 1912: fol. 314), while Ibrāhīm b. al-Sindī (d. ca 240/854) was a polymath with over a dozen occupations attributed to him (Jāḥiẓ 1948-50 vol. 1: 335; 1938-45 vol. 2: 140). Nothing is known of the precise nature of the theological or philosophical pursuits of either of the men.

The Muslims of Arab Sind, in keeping with the predominant *aṣḥab al-ḥadīth* perspective,[99] would appear to have taken an active stand against the speculative dogmatics of the Mu'tazilites. Not only does Maqdisī (1877: 481) note the dearth of members of this school in Sind, but inscriptions uncovered at Daybul contain refutations of certain Mu'tazilite views concerning the Qur'ān and the vision of God (see above p. 98). The Mu'tazilite theologian 'Alī b. Laṭīf (of the school of the *shaykh al-mu'tazilah* Abū Hāshim 'Abd al-Salām al-Jubbā'ī, d. 321/933), it is true, travelled to Quṣdār in Sind, but his ideas were not well-received (he was called a *kāfir*).[100] The apparent prejudice against *kalām* and *falsafah* in Arab Sind and among Sindī Muslims may well reflect pre-Islamic sentiments, especially Buddhist, since not long before the Arab conquest the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsiang (1884 vol. 2: 276) remarked ruefully that while the Buddhists of Sind had faith in the Buddha, they had little inclination for theological speculations.

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99 See Hodgson (1974: 386-92) for observations concerning the enmity between the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* and the Mu'tazilites.

100 The incident is related by Tanūkhī (1971-73 vol. 3: 88-90). See the discussion above pp. 119-20. For Abū Hāshim al-Jubbā'ī see Ibn al-Nadīm (1970 vol. 1: 434) and Shahrastānī (1961 vol. 1: 78-84).

CHAPTER FOUR

Ismā'īlism in Arab Sind

'Alids and Shī'ites in pre-Ismā'īlī Sind. While it is often assumed that the relationship between Sind and Shī'ism began with the arrival of the Ismā'īlīs in the early fourth/tenth century, the connection between the region and 'Alids and proto-Shī'ites or Shī'ites can be traced back to the initial Muslim penetration. Al-Ḥakīm (variation, al-Ḥukaym) b. Jabalah al-'Abdī, who raided Mukrān in the year 29/649,[1] was an early partisan of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib; accompanied by a number of Sindī Jats, he was killed fighting for 'Alī's forces against al-Zubayr, Ṭalhah, and 'Ā'ishah at Baṣrah in 36/656.[2] It is possible that Ḥakīm had some Saba'īyah sympathies since 'Abd Allāh b. Saba', the reputed founder of this early extremist proto-Shī'ite sect, is said to have stayed at his home while visiting Baṣrah.[3] Another early partisan of 'Alī, Ṣayfī b. Fasayl al-Shaybānī, participated in an Arab raid on the town of Qandābīl (Ṭūrān), possibly with al-Ḥārith b. Murrah al-'Abdī (39-42/659-62).[4] Ṣayfī was one of the seven leaders who were beheaded after the collapse of the proto-Shī'ite revolt led by Ḥujr b. 'Adī al-Kindī in Kūfah (50-52/670-72).[5]

At the time of the Thaqafite conquest, the well-known Shī'ite traditionist 'Aṭīyah b. Sa'd b. Junādah al-'Awfī (d. 111/729) fled to Sind after the failure of the rebellion of Ibn al-Ash'ath (Ibn Sa'd 1905-40 vol. 6: 212-13; Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 2494; Ibn Ḥajar 1907-9 vol. 7: 224-26). Ḥajjāj asked Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim to seize 'Aṭīyah and demand that he curse 'Alī on threat of punishment. 'Aṭīyah refused and was beaten. Nevertheless, he did participate as an officer in the Thaqafite army during the conquest of Sind, at least during the in-

1 For variations in the name see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (1957-60 vol. 1: 366-69). The raid on Mukrān is noted by Balādhurī (1866: 432), Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 159), and the *Chachnāmah* (1939: 74-75).

2 For details consult Ishaq (1955b: 145-50). The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 74) has preserved one of his poems in praise of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

3 Ishaq 1955b: 140-41. See Friedlaender (1908: 18-19, 100) for 'Abd Allāh b. Saba' and the Saba'īyah. Watt (1973: 59-61) argues that the beliefs attributed to the Saba'īyah belong to a later period.

4 His presence in Qandābīl is noted by Ibn Sa'd (1905-40 vol. 8: 346). Al-Ḥārith's raid on Qandābīl and Qiqān is noted by Balādhurī (1866: 432) and Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 173, 183-84).

5 The incident is recorded by Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 2: 129, 143, 147). The revolt is discussed in detail by Jafri (1979: 159-67). For Ṣayfī's role as a Shī'ite traditionist see Barqī (1963: 5).

itial stages (*Chachnāmah* 1939: 101). However, none of the above individuals could have been instrumental in communicating early Shī'ite partisanship to Sind or Mukrān since their presence in the region was both temporary and predatory in nature.

The prosopographical data for the post-conquest period, however, does indicate a relatively early association between Sindī Muslims noted abroad and Shī'ism. Ten of the seventy Muslims bearing a Sind-related *nisbah* (14.3 percent of all individuals) were Shī'ites (see table 1). They are noted in the literature during the second/eighth and third/ninth centuries, with half of the group dying in the last half of the second/eighth century (see table 2). Indeed, five of the thirteen Sindī Muslims dying abroad during this period were Shī'ites, the highest proportion of any half-century covered by the data.

The early partisanship displayed by Sindī Muslims abroad towards the Shī'ites, as shown in the biographical data, is also documented within Sind for the same period. In the initial excavation of the urban complex of Brahmanābād-Manṣūrah-Maḥfūẓah, A. F. Bellasis (1856: 421) uncovered a seal bearing the Arabic inscription "Imām al-Bāqir." While not bearing a date, the reference would appear to be to the fifth Shī'ite Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (d. ca. 114/732). This suggests the presence in Manṣūrah of an individual or a group supporting the Imāmate of Bāqir. Perhaps they belonged to the group later heresiographers have termed the Bāqirīyah who took the position that Bāqir had not died and awaited his return as the *mahdī*, "the guided one" (a kind of Messiah).[6] One is also reminded here of certain extremist Shī'ite sects of the late Umayyad period—Manṣūrīyah, Bayānīyah, Mughīrīyah—whose founders claimed the Imāmate on behalf of Bāqir.[7]

However, the major pre-Ismā'īlī Shī'ite movement in Sind was connected to the so-called Pure Soul Revolt conducted by the two Ḥasanid brothers, Muḥammad al-Nafs al-Zakīyah ("the Pure Soul") and Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī.[8] When the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr seized and imprisoned their father (140/757), Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm went into hiding, travelling throughout the Muslim world seeking support for their claims to the Imāmate. Around the year 144/761, the two brothers sailed from Aden to Sind where they consulted with the governor, 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ Hazārmard al-Muhallabī (143-51/760-68), before returning to Kūfah and Medina.[9] Ibrāhim and 'Abd

6 The Bāqirīyah are noted by Ibn Ṭāhir (n.d.: 59-60) and Shahrastānī (1961: 165-66). Also see the discussion by Laoust (1965: 33-34).

7 For an overview concerning the role of Muḥammad al-Bāqir in the ideology of these early sects see Watt (1973: 50-52). They have been studied extensively by William Tucker (1975a, 1975b, 1977).

8 Vaglieri (1964) and Nagel (1970) provide an excellent overview of the Pure Soul Revolt outside of Sind. Also see Omar (1969: 211-48), Laoust (1965: 63-66), Arendonk (1960: 45-60), and Madelung (1965: 72-74).

9 Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 145-46, 151, 282) gives the report on the authority of Sindī b. Shāhak and Muḥammad b. Ḥafṣ, both close to the action. Also see Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 517).

Allāh al-Ashtar, Muḥammad's son, both married women from Sind and had children by them, those of the latter becoming well-known in the literature as the Ashtarīyah.[10]

Once they had decided enough support had been amassed to revolt successfully (145/762), Muḥammad proceeded to Medina, Ibrāhīm to Baṣrah, and 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar to Sind.[11] According to Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 360), Sind was selected since its governor, 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ, supported Muḥammad's claim to the Imāmate. Later sources go further, charging the Sindī governor with Shī'ite proclivities (Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 595; Ibn Khaldūn 1956-61 vol. 3: 422). It is quite likely that the two Ḥasanid brothers had reached an understanding with 'Umar during their previous encounter in Sind and that 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar proceeded to Sind on that basis. 'Abd Allāh was accompanied to Sind by a number of troops belonging to the Shī'ite sect of the Zaydīyah (Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 360; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 596). This is the name given specifically to supporters of the 'Alid line of Zayd b. 'Alī (martyred 122/740), but generally to the active supporters of any 'Alid willing to take a militant stance in pursuit of the Imāmate (Friedlaender 1908: 154-59).

'Umar b. Ḥafṣ initially welcomed 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar and the Zaydīyah to Sind. Shortly thereafter, however, he received word from his wife in Baṣrah that 'Abd Allāh's father Muḥammad had been killed in Medina (14 Ramaḍān 145/6 December 762). In consequence, 'Umar felt that their presence in the capital compromised his position as governor. Unwilling to take any definite action either for or against them, he summoned 'Abd Allāh and suggested:

> I have an idea: one of the princes of Sind has a mighty kingdom with numerous supporters. Despite his polytheism (*shirk*), he greatly honours [the family of] the Prophet of God, on whom be peace. He is a reliable man. I will write him and conclude an agreement between the two of you. You can then go to him, stay there, and you will not want anything [Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 361].

While Ṭabarī does not give us the name of this non-Muslim region of Sind, Iṣbahānī (who preserves a tradition going back to 'Īsá b. 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'adah, a companion of 'Abd Allāh in Sind) refers to it as Qandahār (1949: 312). The location would appear to be confirmed by Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 449) and Balādhurī (1866: 445) who note (without specifying 'Abd Allāh or the Zaydīyah) the conquest of Qandahār by 'Umar's successor as governor of Sind, Hishām b.

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10 For Ibrāhīm's espousal of a Sindī slave girl (*jāriyah a'jamīyah sindīyah*) see Ṭabarī (ibid.: 283), and for 'Abd Allāh (ibid.: 364). The later Ashtarīyah are noted by Abū Naṣr (1962: 8) and Ibn 'Inabah (1970: 86).

11 Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 154, 359-64) and Iṣbahānī (1949: 310-14) give the most detailed accounts of 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar's sojourn in Sind. Also see Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 595-98), Ibn Khaldūn (1956-61 vol. 3: 422-23), Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 1: 193), Abū Naṣr (1962: 7-8), Ibn 'Inabah (1970: 85-86), Ibn Ḥazm (1948: 40), and Zubayrī (1953: 53-55). While there is a general agreement that 'Abd Allāh heard of the death of his father Muḥammad after reaching Sind, Iṣbahānī (1949: 311) has him arriving in Sind after his father's death.

'Amr al-Taghlibī (151-57/768-73). Since the conquest was undertaken by boats proceeding up the Indus River, the reference is clearly to Qandahār in Upper Sind and not in Afghānistān.

'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar and his supporters went to Qandahār and spent some years there, probably from 146/763 to 153/770, without interference. Eventually hearing of their presence in Upper Sind, the caliph al-Manṣūr replaced 'Umar b. Ḥafṣ with Hishām b. 'Amr on the understanding that he seize 'Abd Allāh, kill or otherwise disperse his supporters, and annex the non-Muslim region. When Hishām, after reaching Sind, also proved loath to undertake the task, his brother Sufayḥ (later a governor of Sind) did it for him, killing 'Abd Allāh along with many of his companions and annexing Qandahār.[12] According to the account preserved by Iṣbahānī (1949: 314), 'Abd Allāh's son Muḥammad remained in Upper Sind until the death of Manṣūr (158/775), and then travelled to Medina with his Sindī mother.[13]

The Sindī extension of the Pure Soul Revolt was relatively prolonged and widespread, especially in the northern regions of the province. The caliph earlier had expressed his concern to Hishām that Sind was becoming a centre for the remnants of the Pure Soul Revolt after its defeat at Medina and Baṣrah (Ṭabarī 1879-1901 vol. 3: 363; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 597). His apprehension would appear to be well-founded. In addition to 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar and the unnamed Zaydīyah, one hears of the presence in Sind of 'Abd Allāh's brother 'Alī b. Muḥammad (*'Uyūn* 1869 vol. 1: 255) and cousin al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm (Marzubānī 1960: 136-37). And, after the death of Ibrāhīm in Baṣrah, one of his primary agents, Muḥriz al-Ḥanafī, is said to have fled to Sind (*'Uyūn* 1869 vol. 1: 252).

Moreover, while the revolt of Muḥammad in Medina and his brother Ibrāhīm in Baṣrah had been put down in a matter of months, 'Abd Allāh and his supporters were able to hold out in Upper Sind for at least six years. Ya'qūbī (1883 vol. 2: 448-49), Balādhurī (1866: 445), and Ibn al-Zubayr (1959: 175-76) refer to revolts (without indicating their content) occurring throughout Upper Sind during this period; in addition to Qandahār, the centre of 'Abd Allāh, Hishām b. 'Amr was obliged to subdue the rebellious cities of Multān and Qandābīl. If these events are also linked to the activities of 'Abd Allāh and the Zaydīyah, as seems likely, then the revolt extended widely over the various regions of Upper Sind.

Little is known of the course of Shī'ism within Sind during the period between the dispersal of the Pure Soul Revolt and the rise of the Ismā'īlīs in the fourth/tenth century. When the historian and geographer Mas'ūdī travelled to Sind in

12 Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 363) and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 5: 597) both read the name as Safannaj, but the proper from is probably Sufayḥ as recorded in another context by Ibn Khayyāṭ (1966 vol. 1: 473).

13 Ṭabarī (1879-1901 vol. 3: 364), however, has this occurring while al-Manṣūr was still alive.

the year 303/915, he found a number of 'Alids residing there, descendants of 'Umar b. 'Alī and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah (1861-77 vol. 1: 377). There is some confirmation of this astute historian's observations in the genealogical records. Ibn 'Inabah (d. 828/1424), drawing from lost sources in his *'Umdat al-ṭālib* (1970: 283), notes that a leader of the militant Kaysānīyah (those Shī'ites recognizing the Imāmate of the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyah), Ja'far b. Isḥāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyah, was executed in the city of Multān.[14] The execution, which probably occurred in the first half of the third/ninth century, was ordered by an individual named 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ja'far al-'Umarī, a descendant of 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (ibid.).

'Abd Allāh al-'Umarī was presumably a grandson of Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib who, according to Ibn 'Inabah (ibid.: 294; Cf. Abū Naṣr 1962: 98), revolted in the Ḥijāz and fled with a number of his partisans to Sind where he took up residence in Multān. One of his brothers, al-Qāsim known as Ibn Habībah, propagandized (*da'á*) on his own behalf in Ṭāliqān (Jūzjān), while another, 'Umar al-Mīkhūrānī, fled to Balkh where he was the ancestor of a group called the Mīkhūrānīyah, a number of whom later immigrated to India (ibid.: 293; also see Massignon 1975 vol. 1: 224). Ja'far's own numerous descendants resided in the region of Multān where they acculturated to the extent that they adopted the native language and eventually converted to Ismā'īlism (ibid.: 294).

While the standard historical and geographical sources on Arab Sind have nothing to say of this important 'Umarī 'Alid family of Multān, one cannot reject Ibn 'Inabah's account out of hand. For various parts of his genealogy, he has drawn on the work of Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Umarī (d. 443/1051) who was, like the Multānīs, an 'Umarī 'Alid and hence may have had access to family archives not otherwise available.[15] Moreover, the poet Abū Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil al-Yanbu'ī, who was reportedly dispatched on a mission to India around 331/942, notes that the ruler of Multān was a descendant of 'Umar b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (cited in Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 3: 457). Since the Arab geographers are unanimous in naming the Sāmids (a branch of the Quraysh) governors of Multān during this period (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 174-74; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 231-22; Ibn Rustah 1892: 135), perhaps the 'Umarī 'Alids were quasi-independent in a sector of the province of Multān. Ibn 'Inabah's observation that they had adopted the indigenous language of the region of Multān points toward their occupying a position in the less Arabized countryside.

The early Ismā'īlī da'wah ("mission") in Sind. There are scattered, although problematic, references to Sind as an area of concern to the nascent Ismā'īlī

14 For the Kaysānīyah see Nawbakhtī (1931: 20-21) and Friedlaender (1908: 33-35).
15 For this 'Umarī scholar see Ibn 'Inabah (1970: 295-97) and Abū Naṣr (1962: vii-viii).

da'wah from the time of the so-called "period of concealment" (*dawr al-satr*).[16] According to the *Dastūr al-munajjimīn*, an anonymous Fāṭimid astronomical text, Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl himself fled with his six sons from the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (170-93/786-809) and took refuge in some area of what is termed Hind (cited in de Goeje 1886: 8-9, 203). The Persian historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh (eighth/fourteenth century) has preserved another tradition that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl had several unnamed sons in concealment:

> They established themselves in Khurāsān and the frontier region of Qandahār, in Sind territory, whence their propagandists attacked the cities and persuaded men to their cause by the method of [promising each] the object he desired, until a great number had yielded to their persuasions [Levy 1930: 516 (text), 522 (trans.); Cf. Qazwīnī 1910-13 vol. 1: 510].

There are, however, some difficulties with accepting the historicity of Rashīd al-Dīn's report, at least for establishing the earliest appearance of the Ismā'īlī *da'wah* within Sind. As Stern has pointed out (1960: 85-87), there is a considerable amount of confusion in Rashīd al-Dīn's account of the Ismā'īlīs. The appearance of the place name Qandahār in the above passage suggests the possibility that Rashīd al-Dīn or his source may have confused the account of the alleged sons of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl with the previously mentioned revolt undertake by 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar, the son of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, also at Qandahār. Alternatively, the report may simply reflect later Ismā'īlī agitation in Upper Sind, legitimized with reference to the movements of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and his sons during the period of concealment. That is, it could signify an attempt by the Ismā'īlīs to establish a continuity between the earlier quasi-legendary and the later more strictly historical *da'wah* in Sind.[17]

Whatever the case of the period of concealment, it is clear that Sind was an important region in the earliest phases of the historical *da'wah*. The various movements later known as Ismā'īlī became active in the last half of the third/ninth century in widely scattered areas of the Muslim world. Ḥamdān Qarmaṭ, from whom the Qarāmiṭah were to take their name, became an Ismā'īlī before the year 260/873 and built up a vigorous movement in the southern regions of Irāq.[18] An Ismā'īlī centre was established in Yaman by the well-known *dā'ī* ("missioner" or "summoner") Abū al-Qāsim b. Ḥawshab Manṣūr al-Yaman around the year 270/883 (Poonawala 1977: 34). It was this centre in Yaman which was responsible for the first recorded Ismā'īlī attempt at the proselytization of Sind. In the same year as his political success in Yaman, Manṣūr dis-

16 For the period when the Ismā'īlī Imāms were in concealment see B. Lewis (1975 [1940]: 37-75). For a discussion of the hidden Imāms in relationship to the later Fāṭimids see Ivanow (1942: 127-56).

17 For a somewhat more optimistic evaluation of Rahīd al-Dīn's report see B. Lewis (1948: 599).

18 The vicissitudes of the early Ismā'īli *da'wah* are ably discussed by Stern (1961) and Madelung (1959, 1978a, 1978b).

patched his nephew al-Haytham ▬ *dā'ī* to Sind. The renowned Fātimīd *qāḍī* al-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad, who records the event in his *Risālat iftitāḥ al-da'wah* (written ca. 346/957), notes that al-Haytham converted many of the inhabitants of the region and that the *da'wah* was still active at the time of his writing (1970: 45). Unfortunately, nothing further is known of this early *da'wah* in Sind. Since al-Haytham was closely related to and had been sent by Manṣūr al-Yaman, it is probable that he and the *da'wah* in Sind followed Manṣūr's lead in remaining loyal to the Fāṭimid 'Ubayd Allāh al-Mahdī in the Qarmaṭī schism following 286/899.[19]

There is no further reference to the *da'wah* in Sind until the reign of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mu'izz (341-65/953-75). At this time, there was ▬ extremely effective *dā'ī* in the Multān region whose activities excited ▪ considerable controversy. The chief *qāḍī* of al-Mu'izz has preserved a detailed account of the dispute, ▬ seen from the perspective of the Fāṭimid court (Nu'mān 1978: 405-11, 477-81). A certain unnamed *dā'ī*, active in Multān from around 330/941 to his death in 348/959, had succeeded in converting one of the princes of the region (probably an 'Umarī 'Alid) and, more importantly for the ensuing debate, a large number of non-Muslims. This latter group are termed *majūs* ("Zoroastrians") by Nu'mān (ibid.: 477), which has led to some confusion. Abbas Hamdani (1967: 186) believes that Multān was inhabited by both Buddhists and Zoroastrians (not Hindus), and that it was the latter group which converted to Ismā'īlism. Stern (1949: 299) notes but rejects Foucher's view that there were *maga-brāhmaṇas* at Multān and suggests that the term *majūs* "is probably a vague denomination for Hindus." While Stern is surely correct that the term refers to Hindus and not Zoroastrians, he is a bit too hasty in rejecting the *majūs* affiliations of Multān. As noted earlier (above pp. 18-20), there is a clear precedent in the Indic sources to associate the sun-temple of Multān with the *maga-brāhmaṇas* who are said to have introduced heliolatry into Hinduism. Perhaps the term *majūs* came to be applied to the Hindus of Upper Sind due to the prominence of the Multān sun-temple.

The Sindī *dā'ī* was accused at the court of al-Mu'izz of heresy. According to the *Majālis* of Nu'mān (1978: 477), the primary charge was that he had introduced

> . . . a reprehensible innovation. He won ▪ great number of Zoroastrians (*majūs*) for the *da'wa*, while they were still keeping their religion and had not previously become Muslims. He allowed them to follow their earlier practices, taking ▬ notice of those prohibitions of God that did not exist in their former religion [trans. Stern 1955: 15].

19 It should be noted, however, that there was ▪ Qarmaṭi sub-sect called Baqlīyah ("vegetarianists") founded by the *dā'ī* Abū Ḥātim al-Zuṭṭī around the year 295/907 (see Madelung 1978b: 661). The *nisbah* (Arabic *zuṭṭ* equals Jat) and the vegetarianism suggest an Indic, if not necessarily Sindī, origin.

That is, and this is the view of the converts already Muslim,[20] the *dā'ī* had incompletely Ismā'īlized the converts from Hinduism. In particular, so the charge went, he had permitted them to retain within Ismā'īlism certain indigenous Hindu practices in matrimonial and dietary laws.

What then was the heresy of the Sindī *dā'ī*? The *Majālis* implies that it was some form of syncretism, and modern scholars generally have accepted this view. However, there are some indications that the heresy was also related to certain unorthodox views held by the *dā'ī* concerning the Fāṭimid claims to the Imāmate. The Yamanī *dā'ī* 'Imād al-Dīn Idrīs (d. 872/1467) has preserved a long letter (*sijill*) from al-Mu'izz to Jalam b. Shaybān, the heretical *dā'ī*'s replacement, in which are answered "certain questions concerning the restoration of religion and the abolition of the changes introduced by the wicked *dā'ī*, who had wandered upon the path of transgressors."[21] In this *sijill*, the heresy of the Sindī *dā'ī* is cited and refuted:

> As to the confusion of those people [heterodox Sindīs] and their perplexities, about which you write in your questions, viz. what they say about the seven Lieutenants (*khulafā'*), and about their number being completed with the seventh among them: their doctrine is one of 'limitation' (*tawqīt*), similar to the doctrine which we have mentioned before. I mean to say, that as they professed 'limitation' in the case of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, and he died, and they developed their doctrine about him, they asserted that he had appointed as his lieutenant someone who was not one of his sons and that this lieutenant appointed after himself another lieutenant, till they reached the number seven. They asserted that the first of them was 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ. They did all that in order to support their doctrine that there is no Imām after him (*scil.* Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl), and that the person whom he has appointed as his lieutenant was one of the common people [*Sijill*, in Stern 1955: 26-27 (Arabic text), 11-12 (trans.); Cf. Ivanow 1940: 75-76 (text), 74-75 (trans.)].

The refutation suggests that the heretical *dā'ī* and his Sindī supporters accepted a doctrine of the limitation (*tawqīt*) of the Imāmate. They alleged that there were only seven Imāms, the last of these was Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl, and the Imāmate actually ended with his death. He will return, however, as the *qā'im* ("Messiah"), until which time there could be no Imāms, but only caliphs ("successors" or "vicegerents"), the first of which was 'Abd Allāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ, and the last of which would be the seventh. As Stern has pointed out (1955: 17-18), the implication inherent in this view of the Imāmate is that the Fāṭimids are simply caliphs not Imāms and, moreover, that al-Mu'izz himself is the seventh successor after 'Abd Allāh al-Qaddāḥ and hence the last. In short, the *qā'im*, the Messiah, would reappear during the region of al-Mu'izz.

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20 This would appear to be the understanding of the *Majālis* (Nu'mān 1978: 477-78), which envisions two groups: one of indigenous converts to Ismā'īlism and the other of converts who were already Muslim.

21 Idrīs, *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, trans. in Stern (1949: 301). The original Arabic text of this *sijill* has been reconstructed by Stern (1955 appendix 1: "The Letter of al-Mu'izz to Ḥalam b. Shaybān (354/965," pp. 23-38). As Stern notes, the text of the letter must have been "available in its entirely to Idrīs" (ibid.: 23).

The view that the Imāmate ended with Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl struck directly at the claims of al-Mu'izz and the Fāṭimids of being direct descendants of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl and the sole line of legitimate Ismā'īlī Imāms.[22] Moreover, since al-Mu'izz was perceived as being the seventh successor, in whose reign the Messiah would reappear, the *dā'ī*'s position opened up the possibility of an 'Alid revolt based upon rival claims to the Ismā'īlī Imāmate. Such a theory would be unwelcome, even dangerous, and al-Mu'izz clearly would have been unable to accept it. Hence, while the public attack on the Sindī *dā'ī* may have been related to his latitudinarian policy toward the Hindu converts, it is more likely his deviant theory of the Imāmate which constituted his primary heresy, at least from the perspective of the Fāṭimid court.

The Fāṭimid Imām responded to these events in Sind very quickly. Although he was not able to take direct action against the *dā'ī* due to the latter's strong support within Sind, he did attempt indirectly to undermine the *dā'ī*'s authority while appearing formally to accept him. However, the Sindī *dā'ī* died in a riding accident shortly thereafter, and no further action was necessary (Idrīs, in Stern 1949: 300).

The Ismā'īlī state at Multān. While the anonymous *dā'ī* was responsible in many ways for the support given Ismā'īlism by a portion of the population of the province of Multān, it was his successor as *dā'ī*, Jalam (variation Ḥalam or Ḥalīm) b. Shaybān, who established Fāṭimid rule in the region.[23] Through his actions, the *khuṭbah*, the symbol of allegiance, was transferred from the 'Abbāsids to the Fāṭimids, and Ismā'īlism became the official state religion of Multān.[24] The date of Jalam's success in Multān can be established with some certainty. The previously mentioned *sijill* from al-Mu'izz, written after the conquest of Multān, bears the date 354/965 (Stern 1955: 28). In this letter, al-Mu'izz told Jalam:

> Referring to what you have written: that God has granted you a victory over those who had attacked you and wanted to oust you from your place: that terrible battles have been fought between you, till God gave you the victory, by His help and assistance and you exterminated them completely; that you destroyed their idol and built a mosque on its site—what a great favour, what manifest and palpable excellence and lasting glory is that from God! We would be very much pleased if you could send us the head of that idol; it would accrue to your lasting glory and would inspire your brethren at our end to increase their zeal and their desire to unite with you in a common effort in the cause of God [*Sijill*, in Stern 1955: 25-26 (text); 1949: 301-2 (trans.)].

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22 For specific discussion of arguments over the nature of the Imāmate during the time of al-Mu'izz see the remarks by Madelung (1961: 86-114 and, for the Sindī episode, 110-12).

23 The name is rendered Ḥalam (with the variation Ḥalīm) in the *sijill* (Stern 1955: 24; Ivanow 1940: 74) and as Jalam by Bīrūnī (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 116). Bīrūnī's rendition has been preferred here as closer in time than Idrīs (who preserves the *sijill*) to the events in question.

24 For the change in *khuṭbah* compare Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 175) and Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 322) with Maqdisī (1877: 485) and the *Ḥudūd* (1970: 89-90).

There are two controversial matters covered in this letter which require elucidation: who was the ruler of Multān who was defeated by Jalam, and what was the temple which was rebuilt into a mosque?

The first question concerns the relationship between the Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* and the ruling house of Multān. At the time of Jalam b. Shaybān's victory, Multān was governed by unnamed descendants of al-Munabbih b. Asad al-Qurashī who read the *khuṭbah* for the 'Abbāsids.[25] Members of this hereditary and independent dynasty belonged to the tribe of Sāmah b. Lu'ayy b. Ghālib, a branch of the Quraysh.[26] It generally is thought that the anonymous ruler defeated by Jalam was the Sāmid *amīr* of Multān and, moreover, that the subsequent *dā'īs* (who are thought to have been direct descendants of Jalam) replaced the Sāmids as the hereditary rulers of Multān (A. Z. Nadvī 1947: 253-65; A. Hamdani 1956: 2-4; Nabi Khan 1975: 287; Zahid Khan 1975: 40-42). That is, it is assumed that the *dā'īs* of Multān combined hereditary religious and secular authority in their person throughout the period of Fāṭimid rule.

This view of Fāṭimid Multān is contravened by the evidence. The *Ḥudūd al-'ālam* (1970: 89), written 372/982, notes that the *khuṭbah* was read at Multān for the Fāṭimids (*bar maghribī*) by the governor, "a Quraishite from the descendants of Sām."[27] The reference is clearly to a descendent of Sāmah b. Lu'ayy ruling on behalf of the Fāṭimids. Moreover, Jurbādhqānī, translating the Arabic *Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī* into Persian in the year 603/1206 (1955: 180), gives the name of the Ismā'īlī governor (*wālī*) of Multān at the time of the Ghaznavid conquest as Abū al-Fatḥ Lōdī, the *nisbah* (Lōdī) surely a copyist's error for Lu'ayy.

The victory which is referred to in the letter, if it is military and not spiritual, would have been over a Sāmid who survived the defeat by converting, or else over other elements in the province. After the conquest, the governorship would appear to have remained in the hands of the Sāmids, under the spiritual authority of the *dā'īs*. It is difficult, however, to discern the precise relationship between the *amīrs* and the *dā'īs* of Multān. In any case, the Fāṭimid Imāms kept a fairly tight rein on the political authority of the Multān governorship. According to Maqdisī (1877: 485), an eye-witness, treaties were sent from Multān to the Fāṭimid court in Egypt for ratification.

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25 Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 1: 375-76) actually met Abū al-Luhāb al-Munabbih b. Asad in Multān around the year 303/915. Since he observes that the amīrate was hereditary (ibid.: 207), it is unlikely that al-Munabbih himself founded the dynasty. Also see Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 174-75), Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 321-23), Ibn Rustah (1892: 135), and Yāqūt (1866-73 vol. 4: 690).

26 According to Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 175), Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 322), *Ḥudūd* (1970: 322). For the Quraysh tribe of Sāmah b. Lu'ayy see Zubayrī (1953: 440), Ibn Ḥazm (1948: 163-64), Kalbī (1966 vol. 1: 4, vol. 2: 509).

27 Maqdisī, who actually visited Fāṭimid Multān, unfortunately does not give the name or family of its ruler, simply referring to him as "a powerful and just *sulṭān*" (1877: 485). It is significant, however, that he terms the ruler a *sulṭān* and not a *dā'ī*.

The previously cited passage of the *sijill* extols Jalam for having destroyed an image and transformed its temple into a mosque. It seems likely that the reference is to the sun-temple of Multān, the most prominent non-Muslim site in Upper Sind, and, indeed, Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050) makes the connection explicit (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 116; Cf. vol. 2: 148). As a result, there would appear to be little doubt that the image of the sun-temple was destroyed before 354/965 (the date of the letter) and the temple itself transformed into a mosque.

The problem occurs when subsequent Muslim geographers refer to both the sun-temple of Multān and its image as being in existence after 354/965. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿālam* of 372/982 briefly notes the famous image and temple in Fāṭimid Multān and the large number of Indian pilgrims visiting it (1970: 89). More importantly, the pro-Fāṭimid geographer Maqdisī, who actually visited Multān around the year 375/985, refers to the image and temple as being in use at the time, giving a detailed description (1877: 484-85) which parallels the accounts of earlier geographers (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 321; Ibn Rustah 1892: 135-37). It is possible that Maqdisī's information here is simply a reiteration of the text of Iṣṭakhrī, a source he had on hand throughout his travels. However, while describing the city of Multān, he does not simply paraphrase Iṣṭakhrī, but mentions (although briefly) the contemporary Shīʿite practices of its inhabitants, notably in the call to prayer, and the Fāṭimid affiliations of its rulers and society (1877: 480-81, 485). In any case, if the sun-temple had been recently transformed into an Ismāʿīlī mosque, surely Maqdisī would have recorded that noteworthy information. As a result, one must conclude that the sun-temple of Multān was still in existence in 375/985.

Several attempts have made to reconcile these conflicting accounts. Abbas Hamdani (1956: 2-3), accepting the historicity of both Maqdisī and the *sijill*, surmises that Jalam b. Shaybān destroyed the image the year after Maqdisī visited Multān.[28] However, the *sijill* referring to these events bears the date 354/965; hence, if the letter is historical, and there is no reason to doubt it, the event described must have occurred shortly before this date. The letter of 354/965 cannot be used as evidence for the destruction of the image in 376/986. Nabi Khan (1975: 287) has suggested that the temple was destroyed in 354/965 and that the local Hindu community had rebuilt it by the time Maqdisī arrived some twenty years later. This is possible, of course, but highly unlikely. The temple referred to in the *sijill*, it should be noted, was not simply destroyed; it was transformed into the main Ismāʿīlī mosque of Multān (Stern 1955: 26; Bīrūnī 1964 [1910] vol. 1: 116). It is simply inconceivable that Jalam or his immediate successors as *dāʿīs* would have permitted such a crucial Ismāʿīlī site to be reconverted into a Hindu temple. It could be argued that the Hindu community built

28 Hamdani assumes that Jalam was still alive at the time of Maqdisī's visit some twenty years later and was both ruler and *dāʿī*.

another sun-temple elsewhere in Multān, but Maqdisī (1877: 484-85) locates the temple in the middle of the marketplace, the same site noted in pre-Ismā'īlī sources (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 174-75; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 321).

Perhaps the controversy should be seen in the light of the alleged heresy of the previous *dā'ī* of Multān. While the primary reason for al-Mu'izz's displeasure with the *dā'ī* was the latter's espousal of a theory of the Imāmate which challenged Fāṭimid claims, the ostensible public rationale was the apparent Hinduization of the *da'wah* in Sind. Jalam b. Shaybān, the new *dā'ī* who was the recipient of the *sijill*, would thus be portrayed as contrasting radically with the previous *dā'ī* in his treatment of public Hindu artifacts such as temples and images. As a result, the emphasis on Jalam's idol-breaking function as *dā'ī*, apparent in the *sijill*, may well have fulfilled a propagandist purpose for the Fāṭimids and not been representative of actual events occurring in Multān. On the other hand, if the events described by the *sijill* and by Maqdisī are both strictly historical, then one would have to conclude that the temple of the *sijill* was not the famous sun-temple of Multān and that the image whose head was forwarded to al-Mu'izz was only one of many such images in Sind.

In any case, it is clear that the Ismā'īlīs of Multān did not pursue a policy of temple or image destruction. The *Ḥudūd al-'ālam*, in describing Fāṭimid Multān, mentions not only the many pilgrims from India visiting its main temple, but also the existence of large and prosperous Hindu temples in other regions of the province.[29] As far as the sun-temple of Multān is concerned, it was certainly destroyed at some time before Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050), perhaps in the widespread ruin and desolation of the city which accompanied the Ghaznavid conquest.[30]

The Ghaznavid conquest. The Ismā'īlī state of Multān was not to survive for very long. Within a year of his accession in 366/976, Nāṣir al-Dawlah Sebüktigin, the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, had invaded the region of Sind called Ṭūrān and made the ruler of its capital Quṣdār tributary ('Utbī 1869 vol.1: 72-74; Jurbādhqānī 1955: 35; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 8: 685). In the same year, Sebüktigin forced Jaypāl, the Hindūshāhī ruler, from the Kābul-Lāmghān region and, after a series of altercations, succeeded in annexing Hindūshāhī territory up to Peshawar ('Utbī 1869 vol. 1: 74; Jurbādhqānī 1955: 35; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 8: 686-87). In Mukrān, the Ma'dānids transferred their allegiance from the Būyids to Sebüktigin and, later, to his son Maḥmūd Ghaz-

29 *Ḥudūd* 1970: 89-91. For example, at Rāmiyān, ruled by the Ismā'īlīs from Multān, "at the town gate stands an idol-temple with a copper idol inlaid with gold (*ba-zar kanda*). They hold it in great reference, and daily thirty women go round about this idol (*sī zan-and ki gird-i but āyand*) with drums, tambourines (*daf*), and dances (*pāy kūftan*)" (p. 90).

30 Maḥmūd's responsibility for the destruction is intimated in the account of the Indian sun-worshippers given by the Ghaznavid historian Gardīzī (d. after 444/1052): "There were two of these idols but Amīr Maḥmūd, God have mercy on his soul, pulled down one of them, and the other still exists in Hindūstān" (1948: 637).

navī.[31] As a result of these manoeuvres, shortly after constituting a state tributary to the Fāṭimids, the Ismā'īlīs of Multān were finding themselves increasingly isolated, with the Ghaznavids moving in on the northwest, west, and southwest.

The threat to Ismā'īlī Multān intensified with the accession of the expansionist and strongly Sunnī Sulṭān Yamīn al-Dawlah Maḥmūd in 388/998. After first securing the western frontier, Maḥmūd turned his attention to India and, in 392/1001, defeated the Hindūshāhī forces of Jaypāl near Peshawar, temporarily occupying their capital at Wayhind.[32] Maḥmūd again invaded India in 395/1004 and, passing through Wālishtān in Ṭūrān and fording the Indus River in the vicinity of Multān, went on to conquer the adjacent region of Bhāṭīyah.[33] The appearance of a strong Ghaznavid army in the neighbourhood of Multān and the defeat of the Hindu ruler of Bhāṭīyah, once an integral part of Arab Sind, must have been portentous for the Ismā'īlīs of Multān. Shortly thereafter, the governor of Multān, Abū al-Futūḥ (variation, Abū al-Fatḥ) Dā'ūd b. Naṣr, entered into a defense alliance with Anandpāl b. Jaypāl (who had succeeded his father over the Hindūshāhīs), probably in conjunction with other Indian dynasties of the northwest.[34]

The alliance was tested the next year (396/1005) when Maḥmūd decided to invade and annex the state of Multān.[35] According to 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 72) and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 186), the casus belli of the Ghaznavid invasion was the alleged apostasy (*ilḥād*) of the Ismā'īlīs of the region. Be that as it may, there were other compelling motivations leading the Ghaznavids to Multān. For one thing, the annexation of this Fāṭimid enclave would vividly illustrate

31 For the Ma'dānids and the Būyids see Bosworth (1976: 15-16); for the Ma'dānids and the Ghaznavids see Nazim (1931: 79-80). The Ma'dānid dynasty is frequently mentioned by Arab geographers writing of Sind (Iṣṭakhrī 1870: 177; Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 325; Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 4: 614).

32 The Hindūshāhī-Ghaznavid conflicts are covered in detail by Nazim (1931: 86-96).

33 The raid is noted by 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 66-71), Gardīzī (1928: 66-67), Jurbādhqānī (1955: 178-79), and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 184-85). Nazim (1931: 197-203) identifies Bhāṭīyah with Bhatinda in the eastern Punjab, but this is surely too far to the northeast from Multān. Maḥmūd invaded Bhāṭīyah by way of Wālishtān (Ṭūrān) and Multān, a very indirect route to Bhatinda. According to Bīrūnī, Bhāṭīyah was halfway between Multān and Arōr (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 205) and its inhabitants used a distinct script related to that of Sind (ibid.: 173). The *Chachnāmah* (1939: 15, 33, 34, 54, 197, 235-36) refers to the town as Bātīyah and locates it between Arōr and Multān. Since it was conquered by the Arabs before Multān (ibid.: 235-36), it must have been south, not north of Multān.

34 The alliance is explicitly mentioned by Firishtah (1864-65 vol. 1: 24-25), but also intimated by the assistance given by Anandpāl during Maḥmūd's raid on Multān (see 'Utbī 1869 vol. 2: 73-74; Gardīzī 1928: 67). The name of the governor of Multān is given in short as Abū al-Futūḥ by 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 72) and Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 186), while Jurbādhqānī (1955: 180) prefers Abū al-Fatḥ Lōdī, and Gardīzī (1928: 67-68) Dā'ūd b. Naṣr.

35 For the first Ghaznavid raid on Multān see 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 72-76), Jurbādhqānī (1955: 180-81), Gardīzī (1928: 67-68), Qazwīnī (1910-13 vol. 2: 396), Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 186), Ibn Khaldūn (1956-61 vol. 4: 785-86), and 'Unṣurī (1962: 180-81). The standard secondary account is still Nazim (1931: 96-99), but also see Habib (n.d.: 25-26) and Bosworth (1963: 52, 76).

Maḥmūd's commitment to the anti-Fāṭimid and anti-Ismā'īlī Sunnism of the 'Abbāsid caliphate (see Bosworth 1962: 59-63). Through his actions in Multān, Maḥmūd could emphasize (vis-à-vis the Shī'ite Daylamites) his role as the primary defender of Sunnī orthodoxy within the 'Abbāsid empire, a basis for the legitimization of Ghaznavid rule. On more practical grounds, the annexation of the province of Multān would provide capital for the continuance of Ghaznavid campaigns elsewhere and, moreover, strike a blow against a weak link in the Hindūshāhī alliance, thus preparing the way for further advances into India.

The Hindūshāhī ruler attempted to fulfill his obligations by blocking Maḥmūd's advance on Multān at Peshawar, but his forces were defeated ('Utbī 1869 vol. 2: 73-74; Gardīzī 1928: 67; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 186). Realizing the futility of immediate resistance and wishing to prolong the life of the *da'wah* in Sind, Dā'ūd b. Naṣr removed himself and the state treasury from Multān.[36] The Ismā'īlī forces in the city managed to repel the Ghaznavid army for a week, but then were compelled to surrender.[37] The terms of their capitulation required the payment of an indemnity of twenty million dirhams.[38] Multān remained semi-independent, however, for four more years. In 401/1010, Maḥmūd returned and, extinguishing what Ismā'īlī resistance remained, annexed the city and province into the Ghaznavid empire (Gardīzī 1928: 70; Firishtah 1864-65 vol. 1: 27).

According to Gardīzī (d. after 444/1052), it was the second Ghaznavid invasion which resulted in the decimation of the Multānī Ismā'īlīs: Maḥmūd seized the majority, killing some, cutting off the hands of others, and imprisoning the remainder in isolated forts (ibid.). Another contemporary, Ibn Ṭāhir al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), refers to thousands of Ismā'īlīs being killed or mutilated at Multān (n.d.: 293).[39] Dā'ūd b. Naṣr himself was captured during the final conquest and died in prison not long thereafter (Gardīzī 1928: 70; Firishtah 1864-65 vol. 1: 27). The main Ismā'īlī mosque at Multān was abandoned and, at the time of Bīrūnī (d. after 442/1050), was being used for the storage of henna. (1964 [1910] vol. 1: 117).

It is difficult to reconstruct the history of Habbārid Lower Sind during this

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36 According to 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 74), followed here by Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 186) and Ibn Khaldūn (1956-61 vol. 4: 785), Dā'ūd escaped to Sarandīb (Sri Lanka), but this is unlikely. 'Utbī is probably illustrating his view of the complete abandonment of Multān by its Ismā'īlī governor.

37 Gardīzī (1928: 67-68) notes that Multān was taken by treaty (*ṣulḥ*), while 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 75) prefers force (*'anwatan*). Since Multān remained semi-independent until 401/1010, Gardīzī's report would seem to be more accurate.

38 At least according to Gardīzī (1928: 67-68) and 'Utbī (1869 vol. 2: 75). Ibn al-Athīr reports, more realistically, twenty thousand dirhams (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 186).

39 Mubārak Shāh (1967: 268) notes that so many Ismā'īlīs were killed at Multān that a stream of blood flowed through the Lahore Gate and Maḥmūd's hand stuck to the hilt of his sword. While no doubt exaggerated, it is likely that there were considerable casualties among the Ismā'īlīs of Multān.

period. When Maqdisī visited the city of Manṣūrah around 375/985, he noted the close relationship between the Būyids and the Habbārids (whose envoy he met at Shīrāz), although the latter read the *khuṭbah* independently for the 'Abbāsids.[40] After Maqdisī, there is no further mention of Habbārid Sind until 416/1026, about fifteen years after the conquest of Ismā'īlī Multān, when Maḥmūd Ghaznavī annexed Manṣūrah and Lower Sind, almost as an afterthought on his return from the famous raid on Somnāth.[41] The name of the ruler of Manṣūrah would appear to have been Khafīf, as recorded by Maḥmūd's court poet Farrukhī (1957: 72).[42] Whatever his name, the ruler of Lower Sind at the time was surely a Habbārid (Ibn Ḥazm 1948: 109; Ibn Khaldūn 1956-61 vol. 2: 677-78). But was he an Ismā'īlī? Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 345) preserves a tradition that Maḥmūd conquered Manṣūrah because its ruler had apostatized from Islam. The implication is that the Habbārid ruler had converted to Ismā'īlism, and most recent historians have so concluded, usually dating this conversion after the Ghaznavid conquest of Multān (401/1010) when, it is assumed, the Ismā'īlīs transferred their *da'wah* to Habbārid Lower Sind.[43]

However, it is difficult to accept the premise that the last Habbārid ruler converted to Ismā'īlism. While the so-called apostasy of the Ismā'īlīs of Multān is frequently noted by the contemporary sources, in sharp contrast not one refers to the apostasy of the ruler of Manṣūrah. If the Habbārids had become Ismā'īlī by the time of the Ghaznavid conquest, surely Maḥmūd's chroniclers would have recorded and extolled their extinction, as earlier at Multān. It seems legitimate to conclude, therefore, that Ibn al-Athīr, writing some two hundred years after these events, simply confounded the situation at Manṣūrah with that earlier at Multān. Alternatively, if the report is accepted, it is possible that it reflects later Ghaznavid justification for the conquest of what was, after all, still an 'Abbāsid province. In any case, it is clear that, at least during the Arab period, the Ismā'īlīs were sucessful primarily in Upper not Lower Sind.

Survivals of Ismā'īlism in Sind. While the fall of Arab Sind, both Ismā'īlī and Habbārid, brings our topic to a close, something should be said about the sub-

40 Maqdisī 1877: 485. Mumtaz Pathan (1974: 95-96) has perceived this diplomatic relationship with the Būyids as an indication of "Fāṭimid influence" in Manṣūrah, but this is highly unlikely. While the Būyids were Twelver Shī'ites, they were neither Ismā'īlīs nor supporters of the Fāṭimids (see Donaldson 1933: ch. 26).

41 The annexation is noted by Gardīzī (1928: 87), Ibn al-Athīr (1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 345-46), and Ibn Khaldūn (1956-61 vol. 4: 802). Unfortunately, 'Utbī terminates his account in the year 411/1020.

42 Farrukhī is the only source to give this name. It is possible, however, that the reference is to a leader of the Jat community of Sind who formed the main opposition to Maḥmūd on his return through Sind from Somnāth (Gardīzī 1928: 87) and not to a Ḥabbārid. Indeed, Maḥmūd was obliged to return in 418/1027 to clear Lower Sind of the Jats (ibid.: 88-89).

43 The theory is best developed by A. Hamdani (1956: 6-8) who dates the Habbārid Ismā'īlī state as extending from 401/1010 to 416/1025. Pathan (1974: 94-96) feels that the Habbārids converted to Ismā'īlism "in order to avoid the fury of those fanatics who would have otherwise overthrown his kingdom."

sequent course of Ismā'īlism in non-Arab Sind. The scripture of the Druze schism of Ismā'īlism has preserved an epistle, dated in the seventeenth Druze year (i.e., 425/1033), written by an early leader of the community, Bahā' al-Dīn al-Muqtanā, to a certain *shaykh* (i.e., a leader of the initiates, *'uqqāl*) Ibn Sūmar Rājabāl, head of the Unitarians (i.e., the Druze) of Multān.[44] In this letter, Bahā' al-Dīn asks:

> O venerable Rājabāl, alert your people (*qawm*), the Unitarians (*muwaḥḥidūn*), and entreat Dā'ūd the Younger, whom Mas'ūd has released from prison and internment, so that you might fulfill your duty against his nephew 'Abd Allāh and all the people of Mūltān [*sic*], and thereby separate the people of consecration, unity, and certainty from the party of error, controversy, iniquity, and oppression [*Rasā'il*, n.d.: 475-76].

It is clear from the letter that the Ismā'īlī community of Multān was in considerable disarray following the Ghaznavid conquest and the subsequent imprisonment and death of Dā'ūd b. Naṣr and many other prominent members of the *da'wah*. The remnants of the *da'wah* in Multān had split, forming a Druze faction headed by Rājabāl and a loyalist Fāṭimid faction headed by 'Abd Allāh, the son of Dā'ūd b. Naṣr's brother Layth. Dā'ūd al-Aṣghar ("the Younger"), surely the son of Dā'ūd b. Naṣr, had just been released from prison by the Ghaznavid Sulṭān Mas'ūd (421-32/1031-41), and the Druze letter refers to the attempts made by each faction to obtain Dā'ūd's support. It is not known how Dā'ūd received the Druze appeal or if, indeed, it was ever communicated. Nothing more is heard of the Druze in Sind, and, in any case, the door to conversion for this sect closed shortly thereafter (435/1043). Dā'ūd al-Aṣghar, however, did remain an Ismā'īlī and, after the death of Mas'ūd in 432/1041, organized his community in Multān in a rebellion, albeit unsuccessful.[45] The fortunes of the Multānī Ismā'īlīs declined in subsequent years, although they still retained sufficient support to raise a revolt in 571/1175 against the Ghūrid Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad (Jūzjānī 1970 [1881-99] vol. 1: 449-50, 491).

It is quite likely that Shaykh Rājabāl b. Sūmar of the Druze epistle of 425/1033 belonged to the Sūmrah caste which founded the dynasty of the same name around the year 445/1053.[46] He could even be the Sūmrah who was the

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44 Letter number 61 of the *Rasā'il al-ḥikmah* (n.d.: 474-79). The name occurs as Ibn Sūmar Rājabāl in the salutation, but in short later as Rājabāl. Abu-Izzeddin (1984: 110, 236) refers to a recently recovered Arabic manuscript (*Rasā'il al-Hind*) which, inter alia, contains twelve letters exchanged between Bahā' al-Dīn and Jātā b. Sūmar Rājabāl between the years 424/1033 and 430/1039. Unfortunately, Abu-Izzeddin does not indicate the present location of the manuscript, and I have been unable to consult it. See Hodgson (1962) and Bryer (1975-76) for Ismā'īlism and the early Druze schism.

45 Mubārak Shāh (1967: 253-54), in referring to the revolt, simply calls him "the son of Dā'ūd whom the Qarmaṭīs call *shaykh*," but he is surely the Dā'ūd al-Aṣghar of the Druze epistle. Nanji (1978: 37-38) suggests that this "son of Dā'ūd" is the same person as Shaykh Rājabāl b. Sūmar of the Druze epistle, but this is untenable. The letter distinguishes clearly between Rājabāl and Dā'ūd al-Aṣghar. For this later revolt at Multān see Bosworth (1977: 31).

46 Ma'ṣūm 1938: 60-62 and notes 286-94; Qāni' 1971: 67-69 and notes 484-86. Later Sindī historians fabricated an Arab origin for this caste, reading Sūmrah as derived from Sāmirah (Samaritans).

legendary founder of the dynasty (Ma'ṣūm 1938: 60; Qāni' 1971: 68). If this is the case, then perhaps some of the early Sūmrah rulers (the dynasty survived semi-independently until 752/1351) had Ismā'īlī affiliations or inclinations. Unfortunately, very little is known of this obscure dynasty. It should be noted, however, that those contemporary writers which do refer to them do not charge them with being Ismā'īlī.[47] Hence, it is necessary to remain cautious before assigning to this dynasty, as is customary, an intermediary role between the earlier and later *da'wah* in India.

Finally, while beyond the scope of this study, it should be pointed out that, after the schism of 487/1094, the Nizārī form of Ismā'īlism (but not the Ṭayyibī) was represented in Sind from whence it was introduced into other parts of the Indian subcontinent, particularly neighbouring Gujarat where it flourished.[48] The first non-legendary Nizārī *dā'ī* and *pīr* figuring in the Indian tradition is Pīr Shams al-Dīn who travelled from Persia, probably in the first half of the seventh/thirteenth century, to the city of Ūchh, south of Multān (Akhtar 1936; Ivanow 1955b; Nanji 1978: 53-55, 61-69). Indeed, Ūchh, where a number of the early Nizārī *pīrs* are buried, formed the primary centre of the Nizārī *da'wah* for several centuries. The Khojah (*khwājah*) community, of so much importance to later Nizārī Ismā'īlism, is said to have been converted in Sind by Pīr Ṣadr al-Dīn in the eighth/fourteenth century; they originally belonged to the Sindī caste of Lohānah.[49] And many of the early *gināns*, hymns which communicate the Nizārī tradition, are written in archaic Sindī (Khakee 1981; Nanji 1978: 7-24, 143-49). The possibility of continuities between the earlier Fāṭimid and the later Nizārī *da'wah* will be explored later in this chapter when the issue of the embedding of the tradition is discussed.

Ismā'īlism and the Islamic environment. As noted in the preceding chapter, the death-dates of traditionists bearing *nisbahs* related to Sind register a gradual increase after the Arab conquest, peaking in the middle of the third/ninth century. Thereafter, one can observe a steady decline in the incidence of such *nisbahs*, accelerating in the course of the fourth/tenth century and practically disappearing in the fifth/eleventh century when only three traditionists are noted. Subsequently, there is a hiatus of several centuries before a similar number of Sindī traditionists appear in the literature.[50]

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47 Thus, for example, Jūzjānī (1970 [1881-99] vol. 1: 449, 491), noting the extinction of a revolt in Multān in 571/1175, terms it Qarmaṭī, but does not give the designation to the Sūmrah who were defeated at Daybul several years later (ibid.: 452-53). Nor does Ibn Baṭṭūṭah (1958-71 vol. 3: 596-97, 599), who was actually in Sūmrah Sind, refer to them as Ismā'īlīs or Qarmaṭīs.

48 The subsequent history of Nizārī Ismā'īlism in India has been discussed by Mujtaba Ali (1936), S. C. Misra (1964), and Azim Nanji (1978).

49 For the Khojah community see Mujtaba Ali (1936) and Madelung (1979). For the Hindu Lohānahs see Burton (1973 [1851]: 314-17) and Thadani (1948).

50 Excluding the peripheral *ḥadīth* interests of the great Suhrawardī Ṣūfīs of Multān and Ūchh, the study of tradition revived in Sind during the tenth/sixteenth century (Ishaq 1955a: 110-11, 234-36 et passim) producing such well-known traditionists as 'Abd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm al-Sindī (d.

Modern historians studying the biographical data for Sind have been aware of the decline in the number of traditionists and generally have attempted to find an explanation for this phenomenon by positing an Ismā'īlī animus towards the study of tradition. In brief, it is argued that a golden age of *ḥadīth* study existed in Sind under the independent Habbārid and Sāmid dynasties during the first half of the fourth/tenth century and that this study was curtailed by the direct action of the Ismā'īlīs once they had come to power in Multān during the latter half of the same century. Muhammad Ishaq (1955a: 41-44), who has given the most detailed cause and effect argument, perceives that the Ismā'īlīs were "bent on destroying not only the structure of the states of the Sunnīs, but also their religion and culture," and hence concludes that in Sind "the study of Ḥadīth, the fountain head of the religious laws of the Sunnīs, received a great setback." He isolates the closing down of the Sunnī *madrasahs* by the Ismā'īlī "fanatics" as a particularly crucial development, forcing Sindī traditionists to choose between suspending their studies in Sind or emigrating elsewhere. In his view, traditionism was unable to recover after the conquest of Sind by the Sunnī Ghaznavids since Maḥmūd died before he was able to "effect a wholesale extermination from the country of the Shī'ites" (ibid.: 43). As a result of these factors, the study of *ḥadīth* in Sind never was able to develop the potential that was earlier evident in the Arab period.

Like the arguments concerning the nature of conversion in Sind which, we have seen, issued from a reified perception of the nature of Islam, Ishaq's position here is derived from his perception of Ismā'īlism as a religion which necessarily compels its believers to destroy important Sunnī institutions such as the study of *ḥadīth*. If one accepts this view of Ismā'īlism, then it follows that to prove the assertion that traditionism died out in Sind due to Ismā'īlī actions, one must prove simply that the Ismā'īlīs came to power in Sind. As in the arguments over conversion, there is little attempt to relate conclusions to actual data. For example, Ishaq suggests that the Ismā'īlīs would "perpetrate their acts of vandalism on the educational institutions" of Sind (ibid.: 42), but nowhere does he adduce evidence that in fact the Ismā'īlīs did destroy these institutions. The argument proceeds from the assumption that this is something Ismā'īlīs would do if they were able.

It is difficult, however, to accept the cogency of an argument based solely on a perception of Ismā'īlism as being necessarily hostile to the Sunnī religious sciences as an explanation for the decline in the incidence of Sindī traditionists. What is known of the Fāṭimid Ismā'īlīs elsewhere does not intimate a radical aversion toward the study of tradition.[51] While the religious policy of the Fāṭimids varied in circumstances and with particular caliphs, the general attitude

955/1548), 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'd al-Sindī (d. 984/1576), Raḥmat Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sindī (d. 993/1585), and 'Uthmān b. 'Īsá al-Sindī (d. 1008/1599).

51 Fāṭimid law utilized *ḥadīth* from the Ismā'īlī Imāms and other 'Alids. Their legal system did not differ radically from Sunnī systems. See Dodge (1960a) and Madelung (1976).

toward the Sunnī Muslims as well as other religious groups was fairly restrained.[52]

In any case, there was no golden age in the study of tradition coeval with Habbārid and Sāmid rule in Sind which the Ismā'īlīs could have destroyed. The death-dates of traditionists bearing ■ *nisbah* related to Sind peaked during the middle of the third/ninth century and actually retrogressed during the subsequent Habbārid and Sāmid period (see above graph 1). The Ismā'īlīs, who came to power in Multān around 354/965, could not have been the single or even the most important cause of the decline in the incidence of traditionists simply because the downturn already is evident from an earlier period. They may have accelerated the trend, it is true, but it should be noted that Sindī traditionists disappear in the literature after the conquest by the Sunnī Ghaznavids in the fifth/eleventh century.

Nor did the Ismā'īlīs have authority over those areas of Sind which produced the *nisbahs* of traditionists. Apart from the generic Sindī, the local *nisbahs* carried by traditionists are Daybulī, Manṣūrī (both in Lower Sind), and Quṣdārī (in Ṭūrān). There is not one traditionist with a Multānī *nisbah* whose name has survived in the literature. While the Ismā'īlīs did govern Multān for almost fifty years, if they ever controlled Lower Sind (and, as previously noted, it is doubtful), it would have been for only a few years prior to the Ghaznavid annexation in 416/1025. That is, the Ismā'īlīs could not have been the main cause of the decline in the study of tradition in those places for which there is evidence of its study, simply because they had little or no direct impact on these areas.

Accordingly, it is necessary to reject the simple cause and effect argument of Ismā'īlī hostility toward the Sunnī religious sciences as the explanation for the decline in the incidence of Sindī traditionists noted in the biographical literature. If an explanation is to be located, it is reasonable to suggest, then it should be sought at the onset of the actual downturn in *nisbahs*—i.e., the last half of the third/ninth century. There is some evidence of a relationship between events then occurring in Sind and the absence of Sindī traditionists abroad.

The downswing of the curve of death-dates for traditionists bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* begins at the same time as the breakdown of 'Abbāsid authority during the last half of the third/ninth century. During this period, previously united Arab Sind was fragmented into two major ruling dynasties (the Habbārids at Manṣūrah and the Sāmids at Multān) and at least four minor dynasties in the regions of Mukrān and Ṭūrān.[53] In sharp contrast to the previous governors of

52 Grunebaum (1972: 205) ■■■ up the situation in Fāṭimid Egypt: "Realizing as they must have done that displacement of Sunnism by their own beliefs would be impossible to achieve, the régime confined itself to securing Ismā'īlī leadership at court and appointments at the higher and highest levels (but by no means reserving those to its coreligionists), and to establishing a centre of Ismā'īlī theological and legal training in the teaching-mosque of al-Azhar."

53 In addition to the two main dynasties of the Sāmids and Habbārids, the fourth/tenth century saw the minor dynasties of Mu'tazz (also given as Mu'ammar and Mughayr) b. Aḥmad at Kīz-

Umayyad and 'Abbāsid Sind, the names and dates of these rulers can be restored only partly and even then with great difficulty.[54] It is apparent that, after its separation from the direct control of the 'Abbāsids in the late third/ninth century, the region of Sind began a process of disintegration into increasingly smaller effective political units. By the time of the Ghaznavid conquest, the de facto power in Lower Sind would appear to have resided with the eighteen indigenized Arab tribes whose rights and positions were confirmed by the Ghaznavids (Ma'ṣūm 1938: 32; Qāni' 1971: 53, 55).

Political fragmentation was accompanied by economic fragmentation, a process which accelerated in the course of the fourth/tenth century. The numismatic history of Arab Sind is of particular interest here. In the corpus of gold and silver coinage uncovered during recent excavations at the port of Daybul, the only Arab city in Sind to be studied extensively, the terminal date is a silver coin minted at Baṣrah in 261/874 (Nasir 1969: 124, 141). After this date, there are small copper coins (no gold or silver) bearing an indigenous motif, usually a star or ■ lotus flower (ibid.: 126-29, 149-81). On the understanding that the presence of gold and silver coinage implies inter-regional commerce and copper intra-regional commerce, it can be suggested that as Sind disintegrated into various competitive states, inter-regional commerce waned in importance in favour of intra-regional. Moreover, the popularity of indigenous motifs on the coins of the fourth/tenth century suggests the indigenization of the dynasty itself, drawing on local symbols in its public artifacts.

Daybul, the primary port of Sind, relying as it did on inter-regional maritime trade, diminished in importance during the fourth/tenth century. Indeed, at the time of the Ghaznavid conquest of Lower Sind, no special attempt was made to seize the port and control its trade.[55] There is even some indication that Daybul was undergoing a process of depopulation concomitant to its declining commercial stature. When the Umayyad period mosque of the port was later repaired by the Habbārids, the size of the entrance was reduced by half, suggesting

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kānān in Ṭūrān, Abū al-Qāsim al-Baṣrī also in Ṭūrān, the Ma'dānids at Kīz in Mukrān, and Muṭahhar b. Rajā' at Mashkay also in Mukrān. See Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 177-78), Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 234-25), and Yāqūt (1866-73 vol. 4: 105, 614).

54 Thus, for example, while the non-Ismā'īlī Sāmids ruled Multān from around 280/983 to 354/965, only the name of al-Munabbih b. Asad has survived in an isolated reference by Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 1: 207). With the exception of the founder, 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, all other identifiable Habbārid rulers are known by single references: 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umar by a note in Rāmhurmuzī (1866: 2-3); Mūsá b. 'Umar by a stray reference in Ibn al-Zubayr (1959: 37) to gifts sent to the caliph in 271/884; Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh by a fragmentary inscription dated 294/906 (Abdul Ghafur 1966: 81-84); 'Umar b. 'Abd Allāh by ■ note in Mas'ūdī (1861-77 vol. 1: 377); Yaḥyá b. Muḥammad from Abū Dulaf (in Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 3: 457); and Khafīf from a poem of Farrukhī (1957: 72). (1957: 72). Even then, it is impossible to name the Habbārids ruling from around 340/951 to 400/1009.

55 The earliest sources refer only to the seizure of Manṣūrah (Gardīzī 1928: 87; Ibn al-Athīr 1965-67 [1867] vol. 9: 345-36), while the later Sindī historians note the conquest of Sīwistān and Tattah (Ma'ṣūm 1938: 32; Qāni' 1971: 55).

less frequent usage (Ashfaque 1969: 198).[56] In addition, the quality of the repairs gradually degenerated. While the floor of the mosque was paved initially with finely worked stone, subsequent repairs reveal four deteriorating levels, ending in a simple floor of compacted earth (ibid.: 191, 196).

What is being suggested, then, is that there is a correlation between the decline in the recruitment and circulation of the religious elite of Sind (those bearing *nisbahs* of the region), both at home and abroad, and the economic and political fragmentation occurring in the fourth/tenth century. The accumulation of mercantile surpluses can be expected to drop when an economy primarily dependent on inter-regional commerce changes into one dependent on intra-regional commerce. The abatement of such surpluses would have an effect both on the recruitment and replication of the religious elite within Sind and the circulation of that elite abroad. Since the vast majority of Sindī Muslims abroad and within Sind were engaged in the study and transmission of *ḥadīth*, it would be this sector which would be affected most by these developments.

In Sind itself, one would expect to find the socio-economic system less able to maintain capital intensive educational institutions on the basis of decreasing revenue. The inability of the Habbārids to maintain the main mosque (with its attached *madrasah*) at Daybul is strong evidence of this decapitalization of religious institutions. As Habbārid support for crucial institutions subsided, there would be a concomitant decline in the quality and quantity of traditionists produced within Sind. At the same time, due to the decline in accumulated mercantile surpluses, members of the religious elite of Sind may well have become relatively impoverished themselves and hence been unable to meet the costs of education in those institutions which remained. That is, the religious elite of Sind, the group providing the pool of traditionists, would have been unable to replicate their class at the same rate in the altered circumstances of the fourth/tenth century.

The same processes may account for the decline of Sindī traditionists abroad. The drop in the accumulation of mercantile surpluses in Sind would mean that fewer Sindī scholars would have been able to finance a quality education abroad, an expensive proposition, and hence obtain entry in the biographical dictionaries. Moreover, as the economic situation worsened and Sind became increasingly isolated from the central heartlands, there would be fewer Sindīs travelling or living abroad for such purposes as trade who could have participated in the incidental study of *ḥadīth* or financed such study on the part of relatives. As the overall circulation of Sindī elite abroad subsided, so would the circulation of Sindī traditionists. As noted earlier, the usage of a regional *nisbah* would not survive long after severance

56 It is not known when repair was undertaken, but it could be that referred to in the inscription at Daybul of the Habbārid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (Abdul Ghafur 1966: 81-84).

from some form of association with its object. In the absence of continuous recruitment from Sind, the incidence of Sind-related *nisbahs* noted abroad would necessarily decline and eventually disappear. Finally, the religious situation within Sind also would have had an impact on the circulation of Sindī traditionists. The deterioration of institutions supportive of the study of tradition in Sind and the consequent inability of the religious elite to replicate itself left a smaller pool of traditionists within Sind for travel abroad, even if they could bear the expense.

To the extent that the preceding arguments are valid, then it will be necessary to revise, at least with regard to Sind, the well-known theory of Bernard Lewis (1953, 1972) concerning the relationship between Fāṭimid Ismā'īlism and the Indian maritime trade. In his view, the Fāṭimids sought to divert the maritime Indian trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the Red Sea in order to gain a monopoly on this crucial trade to the detriment of the 'Abbāsids. In pursuit of this long-range objective, Lewis argues, the Fāṭimids dispatched agents to coastal Baluchistan and Sind, agents who eventually managed to win these areas, along with their trade, for the Fāṭimids.

However, if inter-regional trade was declining in Habbārid Sind, as argued above, then the attractions of the area as an entrepot for the Indian trade would have fallen correspondingly. Further difficulties arise. For one thing, it is not clear that "Fatimid agents" won over the population of coastal Baluchistan (Lewis 1953: 53). Lewis' source for this observation, Ibn Ḥawqal, does refer to a group of Balūch (*al-balūṣ*) accepting the Fāṭimid *da'wah*, but they are the inland Balūch who resided between Kirmān and Sijistān, not the coastal Balūch.[57] The coastal region of Baluchistan (Mukrān) was governed at the time of Ibn Ḥawqal (1938 vol. 2: 325) by the independent dynasty of the Ma'dānids, later vassals of the Būyids and then Ghaznavids, but never the Fāṭimids (Bosworth 1976: 15-16; Nazim 1931: 79-80).

Nor is there any evidence to suggest that the Fāṭimids made "great efforts" to control the "coast of Sind," as Lewis argues (1972: 292), although they certainly attempted, and successfully, to win control of Multān in Upper Sind. If the Fāṭimids had been interested in Sind primarily because of its importance as a major entrepot in Indian maritime trade, then surely they would have concentrated their efforts on that part of Sind adjacent to the sea (i.e., Habbārid Lower Sind) rather than on Sāmid Upper Sind. Although important to the control of the overland trade between India and Central Asia, it is difficult to see how the conquest of Multān (some five hundred miles from the nearest seaport) would have contributed anything to the Fāṭimid control of the maritime trade to and from India. The Arab colonies along the western Indian coast (e.g., Ṣaymūr and

57 Ibn Ḥawqal 1938 vol. 2: 310. Even if one assumes that Ibn Ḥawqal is mistaken here and that he intends to refer to the coastal Balūch (as Bosworth [1976: 13] suggests), this would be the coast of Kirmān and not Mukrān.

Sandān) would have been more amenable to such "missionary" trade than Multān, and, indeed, it is precisely these areas in Hind, not Sind, which are referred to repeatedly in later Fāṭimid literature. For example, a letter of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Mustanṣir, dated 461/1068, refers to a request of the Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* of Hind, Yūsuf b. Ḥusayn b. Yūsuf al-Ṣaymūrī, to raise a rebellion at Ṣaymūr, an important port of Gujarat.[58] While nothing appears to have come of it, the subsequent correspondence between the *dā'īs* of Hind and al-Mustanṣir, routed via the Ṣulayḥids of the Yaman, indicate that by this time certainly, the Fāṭimids had transferred their primary missionary and trade interests in the Indian subcontinent to coastal Hind.[59]

This is not to suggest that the Fāṭimids were uninterested in monopolizing the Indian maritime trade. The Geniza papers record details of this trade which verify its importance for Fāṭimid Egypt in the fifth/eleventh century and thereafter (Goitein 1954; 1966: ch. 17). But this later mercantile orientation of the Fāṭimids (directed primarily at the west coast of India and not Sind) could have had little if anything to do with the much earlier attention accorded Multān.

If there is an explanation for the selection of Upper Sind as one of the earliest target areas for the Ismā'īlī *da'wah*, then it is probably the region's long history as a centre of various 'Alid and Shī'ite movements and the possibility of exploiting these elements as the initial basis for the expansion of the eastern *da'wah*. These movements began shortly after the conquest of the region and continued up to the Ismā'īlī success at Multān. The Sindī extension of the Pure Soul Revolt, represented by 'Abd Allāh al-Ashtar and the Zaydīyah, managed to remain intact in Upper Sind longer than in any region of the central heartlands. The 'Umarī 'Alids were influential in the region and, as noted, later did become Ismā'īlī. Like North Africa and other focal areas of the early *da'wah*, Sind attracted the attention of the Ismā'īlīs because it was a region which held forth the prospects of rapid success.

Ismā'īlism and the non-Muslim environment. In the previous discussion of the dynamics of conversion in Sind, it was observed that the Arabs who conquered and settled the area displayed little inclination to engage in active proselytization of any type, either coercive or peaceful. In their interaction with the non-Muslim environment of Sind, the Arabs were concerned primarily with the submission of the indigenes and not with their conversion. As long as the non-Muslims submitted peacefully and paid the stipulated *jizyah*, their religious affiliation was irrelevant. It is apparent that the Ismā'īlīs who arrived in Sind to propagate their version of Islam did not share this general approach to the non-Muslim environment.

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58 See letter 60 of al-Mustanṣir (1954: 196-200). For the port of Ṣaymūr see Iṣṭakhrī (1870: 170, 172, 176), Maqdisī (1877: 477, 486), *Ḥudūd* (1970: 88, 245), and Idrīsī (1960: 56-58, 101-2).

59 Mustanṣir (1954), letters 41, 50, 58, 60, 63. For this correspondence and the role of the Ṣulayḥids consult H. Hamdani (1931: 514; 1933-35; 1955: 224-27) and Stern (1972: 447-48).

Alessandro Bausani (1963) has drawn a distinction between the conversion styles of primary monotheisms such as Judaism and Islam and secondary monotheisms such as Christianity and Ismā'īlism: the former abjuring, the latter embracing, personal proselytization as a method of conversion. Certainly, the early Ismā'īlīs, whose highly organized *da'wah* consisted of a diffuse hierarchy of *dā'īs* sent to disseminate their religion throughout the Muslim world, had a fundamental interest in expansion via proselytization and conversion.[60] An early fourth/tenth century Ismā'īlī treatise, *Kitāb al-'ālim wa-al-ghulām* ("Book of the Teacher and the Disciple"), has survived which outlines the ideal method of proselytization postulated at the time by Ismā'īlīs.[61] The paradigmatic *dā'ī* of this conversion and initiation tale does not engage in public or mass proselytization, but attempts, incognito, to locate individuals who might respond positively to the message of the *da'wah*. Such an individual, when found, is led gradually through various pedagogical stages, each elucidated via discourse argued from the perceptual basis of the potential convert. The gradual revelation of the nature of the message culminates with the convert receiving personal instruction in the esoteric meaning (*bāṭin*) of Ismā'īlism in an initiation ceremony conducted by a superior *dā'ī*. The neophyte convert subsequently becomes a subsidiary *dā'ī* himself and applies the same recruitment procedures elsewhere.

Two significant features of the ideal method of Ismā'īlī proselytization are revealed by this early treatise. First, it was secret and individualized, not public and mass. As ▪ result, the expansion of the *da'wah* was limited, in ▪ sense, by the manpower available for undertaking such personalized methods of proselytization. It is likely, as Abbas Hamdani suggests (1976: 97), that individuals singled out for recruitment were not only those who displayed a potential receptivity to the message on an ideological level, but those whose social, economic, or political influence might work to further the aims of the *da'wah*. The choice of proselytizing methods, then, suggests that, to be effective, the group targeted for recruitment would be small but occupy a crucial role in the dynamics of the region of focus.

Second, the method of proselytization was gradual, accumulative, and argued from the perceptual basis of the potential convert. The system of belief of the proselytized individual was accepted as the initial grounds on which to base the proselytizer's arguments, which only emerged slowly and accumulated as proof of the propositions presented. Conversion, then, was ▪ process and not an emphatic event. Moreover, it was a process which emerged from the convert's reconsideration of the meaning of basic propositions within his or her religious system and was not simply imposed from without. As a result, ▪ high degree

60 The organization of the Fāṭimid *da'wah* has been studied extensively. See, for example, Ivanow (1939), Dodge (1960b), Canard (1973), A. Hamdani (1976).

61 Summarized in Ivanow (1955a ch. 4: "The Book of the Teacher and the Pupil," pp. 61-86). For an analysis ▬ Corbin (1970).

of cognitive dissonance is possible in the subsequent perception of the convert concerning what he is converting to. The proselytized might well perceive the communicated beliefs, argued from his cognitive grounds, as a simple extension of his existing belief system. That is, without strong Ismā'īlizing institutions, there would remain a very real possibility of adhesion or syncretism.

Both of these factors carry important implications for the initial success of Ismā'ilism within Sind and the subsequent form it adopted. In the first place, it is clear that the early Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* made a concerted effort to solicit the support of prominent members of the Hindu and Muslim population of Upper Sind, in particular those occupying positions of authority or influence in the less Arabized and Islamized agrarian hinterland. On the Muslim side, the group of consequence would appear to have been the 'Umarī 'Alids who had settled in Upper Sind, intermarried with the indigenes, and even abandoned their original Arabic in favour of the regional language. These indigenized 'Alids were won over to the *da'wah*, probably in its initial stages (Ibn 'Inabah 1970: 294).

However, the Hindu community still formed the largest and most important agrarian group in fourth/tenth century Upper Sind. This community occupied a position of particular importance in the plans of the early *da'wah*. The anonymous *dā'ī*, whose actions were in the main responsible for providing the foundation for Ismā'īlism in Multān, is said to have converted a large number of the *majūs*, a term which in this instance clearly refers to the Hindu community. In the attempt to win over Hindus to the *da'wah*, express attention was devoted to attracting the support of leaders of consequential agrarian castes such as Bathrū, Hūdalahlā, and Rājabāl of the Sūmrah (*Rasā'il* 1982: 475). If powerful caste leaders could be persuaded to back the Ismā'īlī *dā'īs*, then large reserves of manpower would be made available for the attempt to seize control of Multān.

The focus of proselytization on elements of the agrarian elite is readily comprehensible when considered relative to the diffuse economic and political fragmentation mentioned earlier in this chapter. As a corollary to this fourth/tenth century development, effective political and economic power would have tended to move from the urban areas to the rural hinterland, a tendency which would result in the exacerbation of tensions between the entrenched Arab Muslim urban elite of Multān and the rural elite which, as noted, consisted of the 'Umarī 'Alids and, perhaps more importantly, the leaders of certain dominant Hindu castes. The Ismā'īlī success in exploiting these social tensions ultimately provided the nascent *da'wah* with the strength necessary to appropriate the province of Multān for the Fāṭimids.

The Hindus who responded to the Ismā'īlī manoeuvre would have had their own reasons for participating. While the primary sources do not refer to Hindu motivation in converting, it is possible that, by supporting a factional perspective (Ismā'īlism) within the ideology (Islam) of the Arab ruling elite, members of the Hindu community may have hoped to obtain the recognition or resources perceived as belonging to them in the radically altered social and political circum-

stances. Moreover, Ismāʿīlism provided an alternative ideology which could serve to unite the Hindu and Muslim agrarian elites in order to share certain shared rights vis-à-vis the entrenched Arab urban elite of Multān. In sum, Ismāʿīlism held forth a possibility for the rectification within a Fāṭimid state of the tensions which emerged as a corollary to the wide-scale refeudalization of Sind in the fourth/tenth century.

This then raises the further issue of the type of Ismāʿīlism propagated within Sind. It was observed earlier that the ideal method of proselytization postulated for Ismāʿīlī *dāʿīs* allowed for the possibility of initial adhesion and later syncretism. There is evidence that the form of Ismāʿīlism initially disseminated and subsequently adopted within Sind was a form which allowed the retention of basic elements of the converts' previous system of belief and ritual. Fāṭimid sources accuse the anonymous *dāʿī* who converted many of the Sindī Hindus of permitting the convert community to retain certain rituals from Hinduism as a permissible form of Sindī Ismāʿīlism. The *dāʿī*, it was alleged, allowed the Hindu converts to follow their previous religious laws, "taking no notice of those prohibitions of God that did not exist in their former religion" (Nuʿmān 1978: 477; trans. Stern 1955: 15). Where there was a conflict between actions permitted within Hinduism but prohibited by textual Ismāʿīlism, the *dāʿī* allowed the convert to observe the former, forbidding only those actions prohibited both in Hinduism and Ismāʿīlism. Significantly, these Hindu rituals—matrimonial and dietary regulations are specified—were to be retained as normative within the resultant Ismāʿīlism proselytized within Sind by the *dāʿī* and his followers.

In the previously mentioned Druze epistle, the Ismāʿīlī *shaykh* of Multān, Ibn Sūmar Rājabāl, is extolled as a true descendant of Bathrū and Hūdalahlā, probably early converts to Ismāʿīlism from the Sūmrah caste (*Rasāʾil* 1982: 475). Additional members of the caste are designated in the letter, some bearing Hindu, others Muslim names. This onomastic practice stands in sharp contrast to the evidence of the prosopographical data on Muslims bearing Sind-related *nisbahs* where not a single non-Muslim name can be isolated after conversion. The retention of non-Muslim names after conversion to Ismāʿīlism implies a less authoritarian and less comprehensive attitude towards indigenous conversion than was apparent earlier under the non-Ismāʿīlī Arab Muslims. Hindu converts to Ismāʿīlism were not obliged to make a radical break with their pre-Ismāʿīlī past.

What I am suggesting, then, is that the method of Ismāʿīlī proselytization in Arab Sind allowed for that form of conversion earlier termed adhesion, the adding on of additional beliefs or rituals to the converts' original system of beliefs or rituals. A number of Ismāʿīlī doctrines or rituals—some of which admittedly would be readily cognizable within a Hindu context[62]—were adhered to

62 Perhaps the Ismāʿīlī veneration of the ʿAlids as possessing a caste-like lineage claim to verity which culminated in the Fāṭimid Imāms might appeal to upper caste Brahmins with their em-

not in conflict with, but in addition to, the original structure of belief or ritual. The original variation of Ismā'īlism propagated in Sind as normative permitted this retention of elements of the converts' previous system. Presumably it was thought by the *dā'īs* that, ■ time passed, some of these elements could be eliminated as converts were Ismā'īlized to the literate tradition represented by the Fāṭimids.

The movement from adhesive conversion would depend on the continued vitality of strong Ismā'īlization institutions. This process was hindered in Sind by the very short duration of Fāṭimid rule in the region. The Ismā'īlīs were able to constitute an effective government at Multān for less than fifty years, and thereafter suffered continual repression and persecution from the non-Ismā'īlī Muslim religious establishment and state apparatus. As a result, enforceable public Ismā'īlization institutions on the Fāṭimid model simply were unable to produce ■ lasting effect on the convert community.

In the long run, the inability to Ismā'īlize the Hindu converts to a larger pan-Ismā'īlī context would have important consequences. After the severance of the *da'wah* in Sind from the direct central control of the Fāṭimids, the form of Ismā'īlism initially communicated to Sind would have tended to become embedded within a particular context. The embedment (*taqīyah*) could have occurred within a Muslim or a Hindu context. If the former, then the Ismā'īlīs risked Islamizing to an alternate Islamic tradition within Sind such as Ṣūfism or Twelver Shī'ism. To a certain extent, this process is observable. The shrines of many of the later Nizārī Ismā'īlī *pīrs* in Sind are currently in the hands of Twelver Shī'ites (Khakee 1972: 71-52; Shackle 1978: 282-83).

However, the form of Ismā'īlism which ultimately survived within Sind and later was transferred to western India was the type embedded within a Hindu context. The result of this embedment was not ■ simple absorption of the Ismā'īlī remnants into Hinduism, but the creation of an innovative synthesis. Adhesion led eventually to syncretism, combining themes and technical vocabulary from both Hinduism and Ismā'īlism to form a new and unified religious system. The *Dasa Avatāra* of Pīr Shams 'al-Dīn, written in archaic Sindī, perceives 'Alī in terms of the theory of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu during the *kaliyuga*, the last of the four mythical ages (Khakee 1972: 17-40). In this cosmological scheme, 'Alī takes the form of the last incarnation of the god Viṣṇu. In other *gināns*, Mu-

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phasis on purity of lineage and descent; the pedagogical style of the early Ismā'īlīs, focussing on personal instruction of esoteric knowledge by a charismatic figure, might appeal to Hindus within the guru tradition; and the reincarnation concept of the Druze might appeal to the karmic perceptions of Hindus. Indeed, it should be pointed out, the usual argument of non-Ismā'īlīs concerning Hindu conversion to Ismā'īlism is founded on perceived similarities in religious themes between the two systems. However, it is unclear why, all things being equal, such congruencies alone would impel Hindus to accept Ismā'īlism since the themes already existed within their own belief system. In any case, if the attraction of Ismā'īlī concepts alone were sufficient to engender the conversion of Hindus, then surely most of the Hindu community of Sind would have opted for Ismā'īlism, and they did not.

ḥammad assumes the form of Brahmā, 'Alī of Viṣṇu, Ḥasan of Śiva, and Fāṭimah of Śakti, integrating Ismā'īlī and Hindu cosmological concepts and biography (Nanji 1978: 110-20). Perhaps, in a region where the rulers were also Muslim, the Ismā'īlī variation of Islam could survive as a distinct religious system only by isolating itself from the non-Ismā'īlī Muslim predominance through embedding within the Hindu stratum of the society.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusions

THROUGHOUT THIS STUDY, I have had occasion to note the unsatisfactory nature of much of the recent scholarship on religion in Arab Sind. This has been due, in the main, to the highly reified and ahistorical quality of the discussion. Arguments from a postulated invariable normative Islam have either replaced or taken precedence over arguments from actual historical data derived from Arab Sind. As a result, the scholarly debate over religion frequently has been reduced to a debate over the essential nature of Islam (or, to a lesser extent, of the other religions represented in the area), a situation which readily permitted the entry of polemical disputations of particular consequence to the historiography of the Indian subcontinent in recent times. This is especially evident in discussions of conversion (the main topic of interest in the secondary literature), but it is also apparent in arguments concerning the quality of Islam in Arab Sind and the Ismā'īlī onus for the decline in the incidence of Sindī traditionists.

When the data on Arab Sind are examined, it becomes clear that Sind was not simply Banaras or Mecca on the Indus, and any analysis which proceeds on the basis of such an assumption will necessarily distort the complicated religious and social history of the region. There were specific non-Muslim religions and sects in the Indus Valley existing in a particular Sindī configuration: Hinduism in its Pāśupata Śaivite form (235 out of 273 Hindu temples) and Buddhism of the Sammitīya Hīnayāna variety (350 out of 450 Buddhist monasteries). The non-Muslim population of Sind, then, varied not only from that of other areas of the Muslim world but also, in its unique sectarian alignment, from that of other regions of the Indian subcontinent.

The simple category "non-Muslim" is clearly inadequate for the study of religion in Arab Sind. Indeed, the sharp distinction between the two non-Muslim groups of Sind—a matter not generally pursued by recent scholars—is imperative to the differential method of analysis utilized in this study. The two groups, it becomes apparent, did not respond similarly to the events of the Arab conquest and settlement. Buddhists tended to collaborate to a significantly greater extent and at an earlier date than did Hindus and, more importantly, Hinduism persisted while Buddhism expired as a viable religious system during the Arab period. The explanation of this disparity in response was sought initially in further observed differentials in the class composition and support of the two reli-

gious groups. Buddhism, in sharp contrast to Hinduism, tended in Sind to be vitally associated with the mercantile sector of the economy and inter-regional commerce.

Buddhist collaboration could then be seen in terms of the effect on class interests of two related socioeconomic changes transpiring prior to the Arab conquest: the decline in the volume of inter-regional trade in transit through Sind and the concomitant feudalization of the Indus region. Buddhist reaction to these developments was patterned by the specific antipathy of the Brahmin dynasty towards regularized inter-regional commerce (as evidenced by the obstruction of maritime trade at Daybul) and the expectation that the incorporation of Sind into an expanding Arab trade empire might reopen the overland and maritime transit trade and revitalize the mercantile sector of the economy.

Likewise, socioeconomic modulations attendant on the Arab settlement of Sind had disparate effects on the two religious communities. The restructured Arab trade did not benefit the urban, mercantile Buddhists since it emphasized alternate trade routes, was supported by different institutions, and became the monopoly of a competitive urban, mercantile elite. As a result, those Buddhists primarily associated with the mercantile sector would have experienced a negative change in their share of the accumulation of mercantile surpluses. Since urban, mercantile Muslims prospered during the same period, the urban, mercantile Buddhists could perceive this situation of relative deprivation as related broadly to their religious category and not to their class. The religious option of converting to Islam would have been a plausible reaction to the pressures of relative deprivation.

The defection to Islam of this group of Buddhists would have further exacerbated the state of Buddhism in Arab Sind by decapitalizing the Buddhist monastic system, already in decline due to the restructured trade. Rural, non-mercantile Buddhists, deprived of normative monastic support, would have been vulnerable to pressures of absorption into the belief and ritual system of their Hindu counterparts or, alternatively (depending on the strength of caste, kinship, or trade linkages), the new religion of the converts to Islam from mercantile Buddhism.

Hinduism within Sind did not undergo the same process since its primary class strength lay in the non-mercantile rural sector which was not immediately penetrated or challenged by Islamic urbanism and mercantilism. Rural, non-mercantile Hindus were less likely to experience relative deprivation since, with a few exceptions, Arab rule did not substantially alter their position for the worse. Further, due to a broad foundation of ritual specialists and temples capitalized on a rural basis, Hinduism would have been less susceptible to a radical disruption of its fiscal and institutional viability. Ideological factors also contributed to the resilience of Hinduism. Specific legal procedures were outlined by the *Devala-smṛti*, written in Arab Sind, which enabled Hindus to interact with the Muslim community while still guarding against conversion.

The majority of work done on Islam in Arab Sind has tended to centre on the quality of religion practised in the region. On the one hand, there is the view that Sind was an important Islamic centre which produced scholars and generated concepts crucial to the evolution of Islamic thought in the classical period; other scholars, primarily non-Sindīs, argue the view that Sind was a cultural wasteland, barely governed by the Arabs, with only a veneer of Islam apparent on the surface. The attempt to prove or disprove the Islamic centre hypothesis, the general quality of Islam in Sind, has tended to draw attention away from the possibility of utilizing the prosopographical data on a multiple basis for other purposes: to establish the relative Islamic preoccupations of the population and its rise and decline over time. The prosopographical data, when used in the aggregate for these limited purposes, have challenged a number of presuppositions commonly made concerning Islam in Arab Sind.

Not only did some Sindīs accept Islam while others did not, but the collated biographies suggest a preoccupation with a certain form of Islam on the part of Sindī Muslims. Throughout all periods covered by the data, the vast majority of Sindī Muslims, both within Sind and abroad, were traditionists (85.0 percent of all non-Shī'ites). Moreover, a significant portion of these traditionists belonged to the group known as the *aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth*, who vigorously pursued a position regarding the primary role of textual reports in establishing the proper religious behaviour for the Muslim community of Sind.

The particular configuration of Islam in Arab Sind and among Sindī Muslims can be seen in the non-Muslim context from which it emerged by way of conversion and the Islamic context into which it merged by way of Islamization. While it is often tacitly assumed that there is a single timeless normative tradition of Islam, it is clear that, even in the classical period, literate Islam contained a range of elements, all equally Islamic. Granted that conversion took place among certain groups in Sind for the reasons outlined in chapter two, then it is reasonable to expect that antecedent ideological patterns would have a role in determining what elements of the Islam presented in Arab Sind would be accepted and subsequently internalized by way of Islamization. To a certain extent, therefore, the prevalence of a textualist form of Islam can be comprehended in the perspective of the antecedent textualism of the Sammitīya Buddhists, the largest group of converts.

At the same time, Islam in Arab Sind and among Sindī Muslims cannot be viewed solely as a simple working out of ideological elements already apparent in pre-Muslim Sind. Due to the colonial nature of Arab Sind, the convert group was exposed to intensive pressures of Islamization and Arabization which served to constrain the extent of indigenization and limit the range of the continuum of elements acceptable as Islamic, at least at the literate level. On the evidence of the prosopographical data, where not a single non-Mulim name can be isolated in the genealogies, one can conclude that Sindī converts to Islam were particularly prone to the Islamization process. In the degree of Islamization and Arabi-

zation of the convert community, Arab Sind provides an example which contrasts sharply with later Indian, or even post-Arab Sindī, Islam where indigenous non-Muslim elements and terminology surface in a literate (primarily mystical) Islamic context. Sind was the only major area of the subcontinent conquered and ruled by the Arabs, and it would be surprising indeed if the three centuries of colonialism were not reflected in the evolution of Islam in the region.

A further series of conclusions were generated by the chronological analysis of the prosopographical data. The incidence of Sindī Muslims noted in the biographical data reaches its apex in the middle of the third/ninth century and, thereafter, declines precipitously. An argument from religious ideology, based on the assumption of Ismā'īlī animosity to the Sunnī religious sciences, is usually employed to explain this decline. The collated data, however, will simply not support the consensus: the retrogression begins long before the Ismā'īlī conquest of Multān and, in any case, the Ismā'īlīs did not have authority over those areas of Sind which produced Muslim scholars.

An analysis of the chronology of the Sindī biographies led in a more compelling and unexpected direction. Following the logical assumption that the causal factors must be located at the beginning of the downswing in the population of the Sindī religious elite, an explanation was sought in the political and economic fragmentation of Sind during the Habbārid and Sāmid period. It was suggested that these internal developments, in particular the decline in the generation of mercantile surpluses from inter-regional trade, would have acted to impede the recruitment and replication of the Muslim religious elite within Sind and its circulation abroad.

If this view of fourth/tenth century Sind is accepted, then it is necessary to reconsider the history of the rise of Ismā'īlism in Arab Sind. In the first place, the assumption that the Ismā'īlīs were drawn to Sind by the lucrative maritime Indi- ■ trade loses its attraction when seen in the perspective of the final phase of Arab rule in Sind. On the contrary, the factors the *dā'īs* were able to exploit in Sind emerged from specific tensions and contradictions concomitant with the political and economic fragmentation of the region. Further, the support given the *da'wah* by certain sectors of the Hindu population can be seen as an attempt to come to terms with the same historical tensions resulting from the refeudalization of Sind. That is, the frequently vented causal argument which holds that Hindus converted to Ismā'īlism in Sind as a simple consequence of congenial similarities in ideological themes would appear to miss the mark. Without the presence of some additional motivating factor, it is not clear why certain groups of Hindus would abandon their own ideological system for another with a number of similar themes.

Finally, the perspective on Ismā'īlism which emerges from the data on Arab Sind suggests a further line of analysis into the subsequent history of the religion in post-Arab sind. While the earlier form of Arab Islam was indifferent to conversion but supportive of rapid Islamization, the system of Ismā'īlism initially

propagated in Sind and accepted by certain segments of the Hindu population allowed the retention of basic elements from Hinduism as a normative Sindī variation of Ismā'īlism. The ability to Ismā'īlize the convert community to some form of the literate tradition represented by the Fāṭimids was inhibited by the short duration of Fāṭimid rule in Sind and the harsh and restrictive repression which followed its withdrawal. To a certain extent, then, the later embedding of Ismā'īlism within a Hindu context can be traced to particular historical developments of the earliest phase of Ismā'īlism in Arab Sind. The ultimate result of this embedment was the creation of the innovative and dynamic synthesis characteristic of the Nizārī Ismā'īlism of the *gināns*.

APPENDIX

Sindī Muslims

Nisbah-holders within Sind

1. 'Abd al-Rahim b. Hammād al-Thaqafī al-Sindī (d. ca. 186/796). Dhahabi 1963 vol. 2: 603-4 (biog. no. 5026).

2. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Sālih b. 'Abd Rabbih Abū al-'Abbās al-Tamīmī al-Mansūrī (d. ca. 360/960). Dhahabi 1963 vol. 1: 141 (no. 556); Ibn Hajar 1911-13 vol. 1: 272 (no. 830); Sam'āni 1912: fol. 543-543b; Ibn al-Athir, n.d., vol. 3: 263; Yāqūt 1866-73 vol. 3: 166; Ibn al-Nadim 1970 vol. 1: 532; Maqdesi 1877: 841; Ibn al-Qaysarāni 1865: 154; Shirāzi 1970: 178.

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Arabs exercised authority in Sind for over three centuries (711-1025), first as governors appointed directly by the Umayyads and ʿAbbāsids and then, from around 854, as independent rulers from the Quraysh tribes of Habbār b. al-Aswad and Sāmah b. Lu'ayy. This study is concerned with four major topics in the religious history of the period: the identification of the non-Muslim religions in Sind at the time of the Arab conquest; the mechanisms encouraging or impeding collaboration with the Arabs and conversion to Islam; the prosopography of the Sindī Muslim population; and the rise of an Ismāʿīlī state at Multān toward the end of the Arab period. Correlations between religious and social factors are examined in two general areas: the observed differential between Buddhist and Hindu collaboration and conversion, and the decline in the recruitment, replication, and circulation of the Sindī Muslim religious elite.

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